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"The Peculiar Institution."

From the Vermont Phœnix.

THE SLAVE AUCTION.

NEW ORLEANS, June 21, 1845.

FRIEND RYTHER,—This is a city of strange sights. One can witness many scenes here which are not to be witnessed in our Green Mountain State. In the street which forms the division line between the first and third municipality, slaves, attired in their best, are daily exposed to private sale. The "chain-gang," as it is called, may be seen day after day laboring in some part of the city. One very hot day I saw this gang, at work with their spades excavating ditches in one of the streets of the city. There were about fifteen males and five females, all at work, except the driver, with long handle spades. Each of the men wore a long iron chain on one of his legs, fastened round the ancle, above the knee, and to the waist. The women were not loaded with chains. One of the "gang," a large, stout man, gave directions as to the manner of doing the work, and his commands appeared to be implicitly obeyed. Near by sat or lounged a white man, who, I supposed, was the overseer of the whole. This gang are kept in prison at night, and are employed by the city during the day. They are slaves who had run away from their masters, or for some other *crime*, had been taken up and confined. To-day I have attended an auction of slaves at Bank's Arcade, near the middle of the city, and the centre of business. Twenty slaves were advertised for sale, in the public papers, of which, however, only six, I think, were "struck off." These, three men and three women, were sold at prices from ninety to four hundred and eighty dollars. Several of those who were for sale, were sent from South Carolina, mostly from Charleston; but as nothing but the title of property in these were guaranteed, no one bid upon them, and they remained unsold. In regard to the rest, the title to property in them was not only warranted, but their age, character, qualities, condition, and accomplishments were proclaimed. One of the men was very much emaciated and sickly-looking; he was sold for ninety dollars, age I think forty, or thereabouts. Another was a young man, who had been brought up to the cigar making business, and brought four hundred and eighty dollars. He was a bright, intelligent, good-looking young man, and was a runaway from his master. He was represented as having always sustained a good character till he run from his owner. His only fault, it seems, was a desire to be free. Another, also a young man, was offered for sale by the Union Bank of New Orleans, having been taken for debt. He was represented as an excellent man, a man of unexceptionable character, and as evidence of it, as I suppose, he was said by the auctioneer to have a perfectly smooth back; *i. e.* he had never been whipped.—Three women were also sold, two of them were quite young and the other about thirty. Their characters, qualities, and condition, were all made known. The youngest was sold for four hundred and fifty dollars. The next, whose peculiar condition was publicly cried, brought a little less, and the other, having a weakness in her back, her only defect, was sold for less still. Two women, with infants in their arms, were brought upon the stand and offered for sale, but as they were from Charleston, and nothing said about their character or qualifications, no bid was made for them, and they were ordered off.

The auction was held in a large public room, at the back part of which, there were accommodations for eating and drinking, which operations were going on, I believe, at the time of the sale. There was a large crowd of men standing around, some there as purchasers, and some, like myself, as spectators. A stand or platform three or four feet high was erected on one side of the room, on which sat a clerk, who noted down the particulars of the sale, and on which stood the auctioneer and the slave who was to be sold. The auctioneer was a middle-aged man, well dressed, and had the outward appearance of what is generally termed a *gentleman*. He did not think it necessary, however, to refrain from the use of profane language. Perhaps he considered it the mark of a gentleman. He cried the slaves, proclaimed their good qualities, age, defects, &c. with the same nonchalance and indifference that an auctioneer in Vermont would describe a horse, or a pair of oxen, which he was about to sell to the highest bidder. The slaves showed various emotions, more or less intense. Those who were sent from Charleston for sale, wore very sad countenances. One of the young men who was sold, I perceived, eyed his purchaser very closely. Some of them did not appear to care much about being sold, others looked exceedingly dejected. The crowd looked on very calmly as the sale proceeded. When the unfortunate man who was sold for ninety dollars was struck off, a pious Baptist deacon standing by my side, very coolly remarked, "That man would be worth more than that to me." The whole scene was to me heart-sickening beyond description. I will not undertake to describe the thoughts and feelings which it excited in my mind, for it would be impossible.—And all this in a Christian land!

Yours, truly,
A. BROWN.

YAWLESS PROCEEDINGS.

The Alexandria (Louisiana) Democrat of the 23d ultimo, contains the particulars of a strange affair which recently occurred in that neighborhood. It seems that in November last a man by the name of James Spurlock and his overseer (William Norten) *run off* about seventy negroes to Gasper county, in Texas, on which property liens were held by persons in New Orleans and elsewhere. Rewards were offered for their recovery, and a young man volunteered to fetch them back. He succeeded in securing five, and recrossed the Sabine, when he was overtaken, and the negroes captured. The young man raised fifteen armed men, and again reached Spurlock's residence, fifty miles in the interior of Texas, when he captured Spurlock's overseers (Norton and Kirtland) and fifty-six negroes. When about forty-five miles from Alexandria the party, overpowered by fatigue, stopped, and sunk into slumber, from which they were awakened by the whistling of bullets through their tents. All but the leader and two of his men took to their heels and fled for life. The assailants numbered about forty men. The two who stood by their leader were shot dead. The principal in the enterprise, and another young man who came up afterwards, succeeded in killing two of their opponents, and wounding another, and then made good their retreat. The slaves were retaken and carried back to Texas. The affray took place on the United States side of the boundary.

Pro-Slavery.

From the Fredericksburgh [Va.] Recorder.

MENIAL INSOLENCE.

The reader has possibly seen a statement going the newspaper round, in relation to "an affray at Saratoga." The facts appear to be as follows: A Mr. Boykin, from South Carolina, together with two ladies, his aunt and cousin, were sojourning at the Union Hotel. (Remember that.) Seats were assigned them at the table, by the manager, who it seems, neglected to apprise the servants which particular place they were to occupy. Upon going to dinner, one of the waiters had them (the chairs) in his custody, and refused to give them up. Of course, Mr. Boykin knocked him down, as who would not, under the circumstances? The whole posse of waiters rushed to the rescue of their comrade, and were only kept at bay by a knife, which Mr. Boykin took from the table, with which he wounded one of the gang. For this *offence* [?]—for protecting himself and the females in his charge, against the unprovoked assaults of a band of insolent negroes in a public dining room—he is compelled to pay $100 damage, done to the negro's nose, and $5 damage done to the laws of New-York. And this was regarded as a sentence of remarkable lenity! These are the facts, with all the favorable coloring for the negroes, which the abolition correspondent of the New-York Express could give them.

The writer to whom we allude, with an insolence ten times more aggravated than that of his colored coadjutors in rascality, goes on to lecture "Southern youths," and "green Southern youngsters," in relation to the deportment they ought to assume when they visit the North! They are reminded that a certain *equality* exists between blacks and whites, which they would do well to recognize and regard, and it is pretty broadly intimated that this equality is fortified both by civil law, and the more summary code of Judge Lynch.

The insolence of negro waiters in Northern Hotels, is proverbial; and we think that Mr. Boykin has set a good example for "Southern youths" to follow. Had an Irish servant been guilty of the flagrant impropriety which Cuffy perpetrated, he would have been discharged with kicks, but the *negro* is made the special object of sympathy and protection. We think it likely that "green Southern youngsters" are not quite so verdant, as not to know their places, nor quite so tame as to succumb to insolence, from white or black.

From a Lewisburg, [Va.] paper.

C. M. CLAY.

This gentleman has truly met the reward due him; more consummate impudence certainly never was equalled. It is only a wonder to us that the people of Lexington, Ky. should have borne so long with his fanatical interference. We are glad that the meeting did not take any harsh measures, but peacefully boxed up all his type, &c. and shipped them to Cincinnati; where, no doubt, they met with a cordial welcome. And it is our sincere desire that all such aggressions of law may meet with like consequences. This certainly will teach the Abolitionists that the people of the slave States do intend to maintain and protect their rights, and any approximation of establishing or disseminating incendiary publications; or egress of travelling Abolitionists will meet the terms of the law, and they must abide the consequences. Let them rave at home, and eject all the vile venom of their nature, "but no farther shall they go." This course of Mr. Clay's, certainly is one without precedence, to establish in the very heart of Kentucky, a paper that must of course promulgate the editor's sentiments, and scatter firebrands and discord wherever it goes. Could he have thought that he could quietly issue his doctrines unmolested? If he did, he certainly presumed more on his popularity than public men generally do.

In Cincinnati, he will have full scope for his feelings; he can deal in the horrors of Slavery, and brand the South with all the uncharitableness that these lovers of equal rights purport to advocate. Mr. Clay is said to be in bad health, and had been sick some weeks prior to this move of the citizens. The meeting was composed of both Whigs and Democrats, so it cannot be said that the Whigs favored abolitionism.

From the Methodist Advocate and Journal.

EXTRACT.

The experiment in the British West Indies is of vast importance. It shows that a sudden and immediate emancipation of slaves, even where the colored may outnumber the white population, can be effected without danger to the persons or property of the whites. The colored population of the Islands have been more submissive to the laws of their several communities, since their emancipation, than before; and much less disposed to violate the public law, than they formerly were to evade or resist the arbitrary regulations of their masters and overseers. But the success of the experiment by no means warrants the conclusion, that immediate and universal emancipation in this country would be advantageous or even safe for the slaves. The circumstances of the population, thus thrown upon their own mental and physical resources in this country, would be very different from that which obtains in the West Indies. In both countries, the effect of Slavery is the same. The slave, being provided by the master with food, raiment, and shelter, has no occasion for forecast or providence; and does not acquire any such knowledge. He obeys but one motive to labor, the dread of his master's displeasure if he should be idle; the necessity of providing for his own future wants never entering into his views at all. Hence, when set free, he is necessarily idle and improvident; as rest from labor has always been the sum of all good in his estimation, he indulges his inclination with little disturbance from any apprehension of future wants. But the effects which would follow this indulgence, would be very different in this country from that which was consequent upon a general emancipation in the West Indies. In the Islands, there is no winter, and the earth produces food in all seasons. In our climate, the labor of the other seasons must provide for the winter, by a prudent laying up of the fruits of the earth, or the means of purchasing them. The winter, here, also brings with it the necessity for warm raiment, close shelter, and fuel; little of which is necessary to the preservation of human life, or even for human comfort, in hot climates.

Nay; if we have not misunderstood Messrs. Scott and Lee, they contend that the Methodist Episcopal Church is a pro-slavery church. We have contended on the contrary, that both the doctrines and Discipline of the church are against the whole system of Slavery; and that the holding of slaves by her ministers or members, has only been tolerated from considerations of mercy toward their slaves. The legislation of the slaveholding States rendering it impracticable to make them free, it would have been cruel to compel Methodist masters to discharge their servants from their service, and turn them over to the inhuman slaveholders. This, we contend, has always been the position, theoretically and "practically," of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Her position was not changed by the action of the General Conference, in the case of Bishop Andrew. The changes which may have taken place in the opinions or feelings of individuals in the church, be they many or few, we do not take into the account. For ourself, as editor of the Advocate, we claim to have explicitly stated our views on the subject very early after entering upon the duties of our office, and to have held the same opinions, and to have expressed them freely too, even before we became a member of the Church. Slavery is a great national sin; but the sinfulness of individual slaveholding depends upon the circumstances of each particular case.

Anti-Union Abolitionists.—A correspondent of the Pittsburgh Journal and Age, speaks of this branch of abolitionism, and says it is spreading like wild-fire on the Western Reserve, in Ohio, all over which it is holding meetings. In the Ashtabula Congressional district, the meetings are said to be tremendous. These people call Abby Kelley, who is their leader, "*the great moral suasionist.*" "Think of that, Master Brooks."—*Louisville Times.*

Selections.

From the Baltimore Visiter.

A LETTER ON SLAVERY,

Addressed to John L. Carey, Esq. of Baltimore, by Dr. R. S. Steuart.

DODON, Anne Arundel Co. Md.
Aug. 30th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR:—When I addressed you in March last, very far was it from my thoughts to appear before the public, even in so good a cause as the one to which my letter had reference; but as you have thought proper to publish that letter, as introductory to your excellent remarks on Slavery in Maryland, I feel it to be due to you to acknowledge my acquiescence, and also to state distinctly, my readiness to share fully the responsibility of the publication. In calling your attention to this matter, it was equally far from my thoughts to excite angry feelings in any portion of our slaveholders, and never could I have dreamed that a charge of political design could be imputed to either you or myself, in proposing the discussion of this question. Indeed, I cannot but hope, even now, that many who have so inconsiderately taken up this impression, will, on second thought, do us more justice, and ultimately will come to regard this question as one not only apart from all party strife, but intimately connected with the moral, social, and political welfare of the citizens of Maryland. In your remarks, you have, in my humble opinion, stated fully all the possible advantages belonging to the institution of Slavery; at the same time, you have pointed out with clearness and force, some of the strongest objections inherently connected with it; I am, therefore, greatly at a loss to understand why exception should be taken to anything contained in your publication. Indeed, I have learned, within a few days, from a friend, that my letter has, in fact, given more dissatisfaction than your "Remarks."

It is, sir, on this account, as well as for the reasons above stated, that I feel called upon to come out frankly to say what are my views and sentiments touching this matter, trusting to the good sense and good feelings of my friends and neighbors, to receive, in a proper spirit, that which I am sure, if rightly understood, will find a ready response in the bosom of every one. Politics I have never meddled with, though no man can feel a warmer desire to witness the prosperity of his country, and especially of our own fair portion of the Union, than myself. It is in consideration of the welfare and the happiness of this our own commonwealth, that I have been induced (contrary to the habits of my life,) to communicate to you my desire to see the subject of Slavery properly discussed, and duly considered, by those whom it most concerns. Convinced, therefore, as I am, of the correctness of my motives, of the truth of the principles advocated, I claim from those who have objected to my letter, a fair and patient hearing.

Is there a man in Maryland, is there a single man connected with Slavery, who does not feel its existence to be a curse upon our beautiful land? Is there one who has not many a time, and oft, expressed a fond hope that he might live to witness the consummation of its extinction, and the entire exodus of the negro race from among us? If there is such a man, I have never met with him here, however current such may be in latitudes more south. Indeed, it is impossible for a man of sound judgment and feelings "to look on this picture, and on that," to behold the power and prosperity of Pennsylvania and Ohio, for instance, in comparison with our own State, and not feel the deepest regret for our deficiencies. In doing so, the suggestion will naturally arise in his mind that some cause, powerful and all-pervading, must exist to produce so marked a difference of condition. While these States have rapidly progressed in population and domestic improvements, Maryland, by much the elder member, of the finest location and climate in the world, and of as generous and intelligent a people as any State can boast of, has remained comparatively stationary. This we have the mortifying proof of in the last census, which you quote, showing we have increased but little more than one-third for fifty years; that in nine counties, the white population has decreased by twenty thousand, and that our whole number of inhabitants would have been stationary, had it not been for the great increase in the city of Baltimore, and the partial increase in four or five counties.

Is this, or is it not, in some way, caused by Slavery? I call upon every one to ask himself the question. In my humble opinion it is, for it is a matter of common observation, that white laborers will not settle where slaves occupy the soil, however partially they may do so among free negroes.—The white man shrinks from a union of labor with those who are regarded by their masters as an inferior race, and gradually he comes to regard *labor itself* as degrading, and fit only for those whom heaven has stamped with a color darker than his own. And indeed, as you very properly remark, slave labor, protected and sustained by the capital and intelligence of the nation, is a powerful opponent, however easily the white laborer may supplant the unsustained labor of the free negro; hence, probably the rationale of the loss of twenty thousand white inhabitants in the nine counties; they could not, or would not, work with slaves, and have gone elsewhere. Every one knows that our climate and soil are congenial to the increase of blacks as well as whites, and the question is often asked, what becomes of the increase? As regards the slaves, many have been sent to the South, and not a few have absconded. Of the free blacks, many have gone to the North, and some have gone to Africa; but as regards the whites, those who have not found homes in Baltimore, have emigrated to the far West, to support themselves by honorable toil, where labor is not regarded as a degradation. There is, perhaps, not a county in the State that has not, during the last fifty years, suffered this constant drain upon its white population, and it would not be extravagant to presume that several hundred thousand inhabitants are wanting, who should be now upon our soil. Let us reflect for a moment what would be the condition of our State, if these, her children, had not become exiles from their homes. Would not our lands and water-courses have become tenanted and owned by them, and such other population as a free State draws to itself, so that instead of the three hundred and sixteen thousand white inhabitants, (the sole fruits of more than two centuries of occupancy and cultivation of our soil,) we would most certainly have had at least double that number, and probably many more? Who can contemplate such a probability, and not feel the deepest regret? Our taxes, now a burden to the few, would be a mere circumstance to the many; our State debt would, in fact, be comparatively nothing, and our credit would be as high as our honor deserves to have it. Land would be double its present value, and every man, from the manufacturer to the farmer, would feel his improved condition, and rejoice that all enjoyed alike.

What landed man does not now feel the depressed state of real property? We all see, when a farm is offered for sale, how long it hangs in the market, even at a moderate price; a moment's reflection will explain the reason; it is because there are so few purchasers, so few farmers and yeomen in the country to create a competition for land, and hence, too, the want of life and enterprise in the large slaveholding sections of our State. It is not the want of capital; many owners would be glad to rent their fields to industrious, intelligent tenants, if they could be found, confident that a rent could be obtained, at least equal to their present profits, and assuredly, with far less trouble and anxiety. Who would not rejoice to see our land smiling with neat farm-houses, and well cultivated fields, such as delight the eye of the traveller, in almost every free State of the Union? And who would not rejoice to behold public *education*, that blessing far beyond all mortal wealth, rising and expanding with everything else, and shedding its influence upon all alike? Then would we enjoy the greatest of blessings, that of being but *one people*, bound by the same ties and the same affections. But what do we behold instead of this desirable picture? Extensive half cultivated fields, in many parts of the State, dilapidated negro log huts, a dirty, slovenly negro population, on whom we cannot bestow the blessings of education, and, in fact, whose happiness depends on their humility and their ignorance. But there is one more view of this subject that we should not close our eyes upon; it is the political effect of our paucity of numbers in regard to our national representation. Some few years since, with less population than we now possess, our number of representatives in the hall of Congress was eight; then the ratio of representation was about fifty thousand; now the ratio of representation is about seventy-two thousand, and our number of members is reduced to six. Before many years, the ratio of representation will be raised to one hundred thousand, and it is much to be feared our representation will then be reduced to four, and this while the free States, more especially, are increasing in population so rapidly that, notwithstanding the augmenting ratio of representation, they claim, at each successive period, an increase of representatives. Already the larger States overshadow the smaller, and what will the consequence be when disproportion is still greater? Let us weigh this matter well, and let us examine and see whether we cannot, in our *gallant* little State, do something to raise our white population to six or eight hundred thousand, that we may, among other advantages, at all times, make a proud and a dignified presence in our National Assembly.

Confident am I, if my fellow-citizens will but calmly and kindly reflect upon all these things, they will see the whole question in the same light that I do, and, instead of spurning my suggestion, will generally admit that it is a consummation most devoutly to be wished for.

I know the temper of my countrymen well; they are rather hot and somewhat rash, but they are high-minded, just, and capable of the highest and noblest moral action. It is well known there would have been but one opinion upon the subject of Slavery in Maryland, but for the insane interference of that party that has inflicted, I may say, a longer servitude upon the negro. Until these fanatics sprung up there was a large party openly for emancipation, looking forward to it with pleasure, and ready to aid in every proper way that could secure the object.—But since then, for most obvious reasons, they have retreated from their position, and now maintain the strictest neutrality. But it seems to me the time has now come for restoring things to where they were some twelve or fifteen years ago; that is, to allow emancipation to progress by the natural course of circumstances, I mean at the pleasure of the slaveholder, unrestrained by legislative enactments, or by popular prejudice, excepting always that degree of restraint which police government may render necessary.

At first I fear this proposition will startle some of our good citizens, and they will exclaim against it; but I beg them to pause and consider calmly the reasons and motives of this suggestion—policy, humanity, and self-interest. There can be no just ground for excitement or displeasure in the business. If I am right in my views and sentiments, all parties must and will, in due time, come to agree with me. If I am wrong, (and I am entirely willing to submit to the decision of public opinion,) my suggestion will soon fall to the ground, and there will be an end of the matter. For what have we to dread from the Abolitionists? and as to the negroes, the poor timorous wretches feel and *know* our *power* too well, to think of aught else than patient, humble submission. We have our foot upon their necks, and they can never rise until we give leave; and, so long as we are compelled to hold them in slavery, they must be held with a *strong rein*, and *by a strong hand*. As a man, I cannot feel indifferent to the wants and sufferings of any portion of the human race, and for those unfortunate beings bred amidst our domestic ties and relations, in common with most slaveholders, I feel all the compassion their situation calls for; but I have no scruple in avowing that I never will hesitate for one moment, between their fortunes and the interests of our own race, of those with whom I am connected by consanguinity and national identity; and in this, let me now remark, consists the difference between a Maryland emancipationist. The latter, by some morbid arrangement of his *tastes* and *faculties*, prefers the welfare of the negro, to that of his own fraternity. The former prefers his own brotherhood, though never disinclined to exercise benevolence towards the negro, when it can be done without danger to those who are nearer and dearer. And this, Sir, brings me to that part of your remarks, where you admonish us to be mindful of our duty in protecting and preserving this large and dependent family from the consequences of a rash philanthropy. You even express the opinion that Slavery is the only means of saving them from utter annihilation, and you call it in fact the *bulwark* of the whole colored race, standing between them and destruction.

Most undoubtedly, if it is a paramount consideration to preserve and perpetuate the negro race in the State of Maryland, (which may God in his mercy, forbid,) no device could be more cunningly framed than this institution, as it now exists among us.—The children are carefully nurtured until ten years of age; adults are seldom overtasked; at sixty, or thereabout, they are for the most part allowed to relax their toil, and generally spend the residue of a long life in quiet and ease. The female especially enjoys a health and constitutional vigor that those of her sex of gentle blood may reasonably admire and envy. All are well fed, and procreation thrives accordingly. The hardships and sufferings incident to Indian life, by which the numbers of this noble race are kept in check, our slaves are totally exempt from—and it cannot be doubted that our State would ere this have been overrun by them, as by a plague of locusts, had not the redundancy been absorbed, from time to time, by the great demands of the South. Now, my dear Sir, I must say, with due respect for your gentleness and humanity, that this view of Slavery does not present much likelihood of a speedy removal of the mass from our soil; without which it is in vain to hope for any great or distinguished improvement in our State, and which if we seriously contemplate, we must assuredly abandon the idea of protecting the colored race by the continuance of this institution; we must, in fact, allow them *gradually* to pass into a new form of society—into a state of existence *less calculated* to preserve and increase their numbers, and by which they will be brought to feel the influence of the circumstances you dread so much. But I will not expatiate upon this mode of circumscribing the increase of the colored race,—the fact is universally admitted,—nor will I attempt to moralize upon it. We must do what seems best for the occasion, and most proper for the future welfare of our commonwealth—leaving the consequences (beyond our speculation) to an all-wise and merciful Providence, on which we may fully rely to bring things to a just and happy conclusion.

You foretell in strong language, but not too strong, the inevitable course of events that must befall the free negro population, (if they blindly refuse to quit Maryland,) when it comes fully into contact with white labor, which by an invariable law always comes to meet it, and never fails to supplant it, sooner or later. Already, as you have remarked, white labor has driven the black from many employments in New-York and Philadelphia, and even on Fell's Point may be witnessed the same result, in consequence of the late rapid increase of German and Irish emigrants; indeed we need only look at the last census to ascertain that in Baltimore the increase has been as two to twenty in favor of the whites. To my mind the reasons adduced by you to prove the necessity of retarding emancipation, are the very strongest to show the propriety of encouraging it, because they point out clearly the state of things in the vista which *alone* will compel the colored man to look to Africa, as his only hope of preservation and of happiness. To one who takes but a partial view of the relations of the two colors, and whose feelings of benevolence are bounded by personal motives and considerations, this course of action may seem too stern and uncompromising; but to one who takes a more general survey of all the premises, and truly desires the greatest amount of good to the greatest number, it will, I am sure, appear to be the best for all the parties concerned. It cannot be denied that the question is fraught with great difficulties and perplexities—but to my judgment, look at it in any way we please, it will be found that this course of procedure, in connection with *renewed and extended efforts at colonization*, will in all human probability, and at no very distant period, secure the removal of the great body of the African people from our State. It appears to me the President of the Maryland Colonization Society, with his usual sagacity and decision, points to this in his address, where he says, "the object of colonization is to prepare a home in Africa for the free colored people of the State, to which they may remove when the advantages which it offers—and above all the pressure of irresistible circumstances in this country, shall excite them to emigrate."

In proposing to countenance a gradual emancipation in Maryland, I propose nothing *new*, but merely a return to the ancient and time-honored custom of our land; I propose it not only for the ultimate good it may, and I trust will, at some future day, accomplish for the negroes themselves; but especially to promote the *freedom* and *independence* of our own color. For who does not know that the slaveholder who does his duty to himself, to the negro, and to his community, is almost as much a slave as the slave himself? *He* certainly has far more care and anxiety than the negro, who seldom looks forward to the morrow.

Nevertheless, I would at this time ask for no more than to sanction, by more distinct authority, that which almost daily takes place, as you show by the statement made to the commissioners of the State Colonization Fund, by which it appears nearly 3,000 manumissions have taken place in the last thirteen years, notwithstanding all the difficulties thrown in the way by legislative enactments. I would merely ask that each and every slaveholder be permitted to exercise his own free will and pleasure in the matter, without fear on his part, or dread on that of the manumittee, of any existence of power to compel him to leave the State, but that it may be left to time, and natural circumstances to force this issue. No one need dread any sudden or great addition to the class of free negroes, as an immediate consequence of such a *course*—as property *slaves* have an established value, and we all know men part not with their goods and chattels, but by slow and measured steps. The law as it now stands seems to have an unnecessary aspect of severity, to say the least of it. It effects but little, and evidently is not in accordance with public sentiment; this is proven by its frequent and open evasion, attributable no doubt to the regard which even the ministers of law entertain for the privileges of humanity. But on this part of the subject I desire to say as little as possible; it involves domestic rights and private feelings, and should be left to that still small voice that whispers to every man in his hours of calmness of reflection.

I have thus, in as brief a space as possible, given an outline of what was upon my mind when I proposed, in my former letter to you, to consider this question in reference to its policy, humanity, and self-interest; and, fully conscious of my inability to do it justice, my greatest regret is, that it has not been left to other and abler hands. Your opinion, that it is not desirable to establish a paper for the diffusion of information on this question, has great weight with me, and I am ready to acknowledge the force of your reasons. We will therefore dismiss the inquiry for the present, trusting that the little we have said may not be misunderstood; on the contrary that it may induce those who are intimately connected with Slavery to study the question, and to find out whether any other plan, than the one suggested, can be devised to promote the prosperity and happiness of our native State.

With sentiments of renewed respect,
I remain, very truly, yours,
R. S. STEUART.

From the Christian World.

PROTEST AGAINST AMERICAN SLAVERY. BY ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY UNITARIAN MINISTERS.

We, the undersigned, disciples of Christ, and ministers of his Gospel, in bearing our solemn testimony against the system of American Slavery, deem it proper in the first place, to declare the grounds of our action.

We owe it to three millions of slaves, our fellow-men and brethren, to do what we rightfully can to undo their burdens. The wrongs of the slave, however distant he may be, are our wrongs; for Jesus has taught us that every sufferer whom we can relieve, is our neighbor, though a stranger, of another race, and in a distant land.

We owe it to slaveholders, our fellow-men and brethren, whom we believe to be in a position hostile to the influences of Christianity, to speak a word of warning concerning the moral evil and inhumanity of the system with which they are connected.

We are the more obliged to bear this testimony because the Gospel of Christ cannot now be fully preached in the slaveholding States. If it could, it might be less necessary to express our views in the present form. But violent and lawless men, as is well known, and as recent instances in our own experience show, have made it impossible for the Southern minister to declare the whole counsel of God, by speaking freely of that particular sin with which the community he addresses, is specially concerned. Consequently, Southern men of better character, who would not, perhaps, themselves sanction such constraint, are, nevertheless, left without instruction as to their duty in relation to Slavery. And if neither religion nor the instincts of humanity, nor the first principles of American liberty have taught them that the system is wrong, their ignorance may not be wholly their fault, but it would be our's were we to suffer it to remain. That they have been educated to believe that slaveholding is right, may be a reason why we should not severely blame them, but it is also a reason why we should show them the truth; since the truth on this subject must come to them, if at all, from the free States, through books, writings, and public opinion.

These reasons would induce us to speak, even if the North were doing nothing to uphold Slavery.—But by our political, commercial, and social relations with the South, by the long silence of Northern Christians, and churches, by the fact that Northern men, going to the South, often become slaveholders, and apologists for Slavery, we have given the slaveholders reason to believe that it is only the accident of our position which prevents us from engaging in this system as fully as themselves. Our silence therefore, is upholding Slavery, and we must speak against it in order not to speak in its support.

Especially do we feel that the denomination which takes for its motto, "Liberty, Holiness, and Love," should be foremost in opposing this system. More than others we have contended for three great principles,—individual liberty, perfect righteousness, and human brotherhood. All of these are grossly violated by the system of Slavery. We contend for mental freedom; shall we not denounce the system which fetters both mind and body? We have declared righteousness to be the essence of Christianity; shall we not oppose that system which is the sum of all wrong? We claim for all men the right of brotherhood before a universal Father; ought we not to testify against that which tramples so many of our brethren under foot?

These reasons would lead us to speak individually and separately. But our combined voices may be heard more widely, and be more regarded; and we therefore speak in company. As we do not, as a denomination, combine in subscribing creeds, and fixing systems of theology, the more should we be ready to unite in practical endeavor to remove moral evils. As our principles of religious liberty do not permit us to exclude our brethren, who are slaveholders from our Christian fellowship, the more should we testify against the slave system itself.—Some individuals may think they hold slaves for the good of their bondmen, in order to give them their liberty under more favorable circumstances. We cannot regard such slaveholders, as we do those who hold their fellow-beings as property, for the sake of gain, or personal convenience. Leaving to God to decide on the comparative guilt, or innocence of individual slaveholders, we pronounce the system unchristian and inhuman.

And more especially do we feel bound to lift up our voices at the present time, when the South has succeeded in compromising the nation to the support of Slavery; when it has been made a great national interest, defended in our national diplomacy, and to be upheld by our national arms; when the nation has, by a new measure, solemnly assumed the guilt, and responsibility of its continuance; when free Northern citizens, without any alleged crime, are thrown into Southern prisons, and sold to perpetual bondage; when our attempts to appeal respectfully to the Federal Courts, are treated with contumely, so that the question is no longer whether Slavery shall continue in the Southern States, but whether freedom shall continue in *any* of the States. Now, therefore, when our reliance on political measures has failed, it is the time to trust more fully in the power of truth. To the schemes of party leaders, to political majorities, to the united treasures, arms, domains, and interests of the nation, pledged to the extension and perpetuation of the system, let us now oppose the simple majesty, and omnipotence of truth. "For who knows not that truth is strong,—next the Almighty?"

We, therefore, ministers of the Gospel of truth and love, in the name of God the universal Father, in the name of Christ the Redeemer, in the name of humanity and human brotherhood, do solemnly protest against the system of Slavery, as unchristian, and inhuman,—

Because it is a violation of the law of right, being the sum of all unrighteousness, which man can do to man, depriving him not only of his possessions but of himself. And, as in the possession of one's self are included all other possessions, and in the right to one's self are included all other rights, he who makes a man a slave, commits the greatest possible robbery, and the greatest possible wrong.

Because it violates the law of love, which says, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them."

Because it degrades man, the image of God, into a thing; changes persons into property; and, by violating the dignity of the human soul, is a constant sacrilege against that soul which the Scriptures declare to be the "Temple of the Holy Ghost."

Because it necessarily tends to pollute the soul of the slave,—producing all vices, and fostering habits of indolence, sensuality, falsehood, treachery, theft, moral stupor, and perpetual childhood,—by taking away *Hope*, which God has appointed as the lightener of toil, the spur to exertion, and the seed of progress, and by destroying the sense of responsibility, which is the bond that connects the soul with God.

Because it tends to defile the soul of the master, as unlimited power must generally produce self-indulgence, licentiousness, cruelty, arrogance, and a domineering spirit,—qualities utterly opposed to the humility, meekness, and self-denial of Christ. We cheerfully admit that some, both of the slaveholders and slaves, have nobly resisted these influences, and shown us virtues which we should be proud to imitate. But we know that the prevailing tendency of the system is nevertheless evil, and that it must always offer manifold temptations, and inevitable occasions to sin.

Because this system, as the indispensable condition of its continuance, must restrict education, keep the Bible from the slave, make life insecure in the hands of irresponsible power, deprive female innocence of protection, sanction adultery, tear children from parents, and husbands from wives, violate the divine institution of families, and by hard and hopeless toil, make existence a burden.

Because Slavery, as all history testifies, eats out the heart of nations, and tends every year more and more, to sear the popular conscience, and impair the virtue of the people. It neutralizes the influence which we ought to exert on the world, as a nation whose mission it is to extend the principles of political freedom. It degrades our national character, making us appear before mankind as solemn hypocrites, who declare "that *all* men are equal," and yet persist in holding a portion of them as slaves,—who declare that "*all* are endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and yet take these rights from a sixth part of their own community. Constantly to profess one thing, and constantly to practice another, must destroy the sinews of national virtue.

In pure obedience to these principles, which no circumstances can obscure, and no time can change, we protest against any attempt to defend this system, on the ground that the slaves are often treated kindly. It is not a question of treatment, but of right; and the greatest kindness would be no compensation for the rights which are withheld.

We protest against any attempt to defend the system from the letter of the Scriptures, or from practices recorded in the Old Testament, as a libel on God and Christ, which would tend, so far as the attempt succeeded, to destroy our confidence in the Bible. If this system was not prohibited among ancient nations by positive law, it was not for the reason that it was right, but that, like polygamy, and other evil practices, "it was suffered for a time because of the hardness of their hearts." And if, from the imperfect knowledge under the old dispensation, "the time of this ignorance God winked at," yet now, in the light of the Gospel, "he commands all men every where to repent."

Finally, while we prescribe no man's course of action, we earnestly implore all to put forth their full energy, and in the most efficient modes, to show decidedly their sympathy with the slave, and their abhorrence of the system of oppression, of which he is made the victim.

We implore our brethren at the South, especially those who hold the same faith as ourselves, to show their faith by their works; to come out from all participation in this sin, and, in the way they deem best, to undo the heavy burden and let the oppressed go free.

We implore our brethren at the North, who may go to reside in slaveholding regions, to go determined to make every sacrifice of profit or convenience, rather than become abettors of this inhuman institution.

We implore all Christians and Christian preachers, to unite in unceasing prayer to God for aid against this system, to lose no opportunity of speaking the truth, and spreading light on this subject, in faith that the truth is strong enough to break every yoke. We pray them to remember those whose hearts were in this cause, who have ascended on high. If Channing, Follen, Worcester, and Ware, are still mindful of what is passing below, they must be looking to us to take their places, and do their work.—Wherefore seeing we are compassed by such witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and do the work of Him who sent us while it is day.

And we, on our part, do hereby pledge ourselves before God and our brethren, never to be weary of laboring in the cause of human rights and freedom, till Slavery be abolished, and every slave made free.

Joseph Allen.	G. Leonard.
J. H. Allen.	A. A. Livermore.
Wm. Adam.	H. Lambert.
S. Alden.	W. H. Lord.
H. Alger.	S. J. May.
S. G. Bulfinch.	S. May.
L. Bailey.	L. Maynard.
C. F. Barnard.	M. I. Motte.
S. A. Barnard.	A. B. Muzzey.
John Bartlett.	J. F. Moo s.
Charles Briggs.	J. Moore.
G. W. Briggs.	George Moore.
W. G. Babcock.	W. C. Moseley.
A. Brown.	J. M. Merrick.
J. S. Brown.	Henry A. Miles.
C. Brooks.	Wm. Newell.
C. T. Brooks.	Jacob Norton.
C. Bradford.	C. Nightingale.
W. Burton.	J. Osgood.
C. H. Brigham.	S. Osgood.
A. M. Bridge.	Andrew P. Peabody.
E. Buckingham.	O. W. B. Peabody.
N. Botley.	John Parkman.
W. H. Channing.	John Pierpont.
James F. Clarke.	J. Pierpont, Jr.
S. Clarke.	A. R. Pope.
Amos Clarke.	T. H. Pons.
S. B. Cruft.	Theodore Parker.
W. Cushing.	C. Pierce.
J. I. T. Coolidge.	Isaac B. Pierce.
J. Cole.	J. H. Perkins.
Wm. Coe.	Cazeneau Palfrey.
E. P. Cralis.	R. Pike.
A. H. Conant.	Samuel Ripley.
S. Chandler.	Chandler Robbins.
Edward Capen.	S. D. Robbins.
C. Cutler.	John Lewis Russel.

J. Caldwell.
C. H. A. Dall.
Thomas Dawes.
Theodore Dorr.
John Q. Day.
O. C. Everett.
H. F. Edes.
R. S. Edes.
Ruins Ellis.
J. Ellis.
H. Emmons.
Convers Francis.
James Flint.
Wm. H. Furness.
B. Frost.
S. P. Folsom.
J. Field, (Claremont.)
Frederick A. Farley.
Charles A. Farley.
S. Farley.
Wm. Farmer.
Frederick T. Gray.
Washington Gilbert.
N. Gage.
H. Gives.
E. J. Gerry.
Amory Gale.
Aaron Green.
F. D. Huntington.
E. B. Hall.
N. Hall.
F. H. Hedge.
F. Hinckley.
A. Harding.
H. Hersey.
G. W. Hosmer.
F. W. Holland.
Thomas Hill.
George G. Ingersoll.
A. D. Jones.
Sylvester Judd.
James Kendall.
J. Kendall, Jr.
D. Kimball.
Wm. H. Knapp.
James Kay.
Wm. H. Kinsley.
L. W. Leonard.
G. M. Rice.
Charles Robinson.
C. Stetson.
Oliver Stearns.
Wm. Stearns.
Ralph Sanger.
Preserved Smith.
Amos Smith.
I. S. Smith.*
J. O Smith.
Rufus P. Stebbins.
L. H. Shaw.
Edmund Q. Sewall.
Charles Sewall.
R. C. Stone.
Edward Stone.
J. L. Stone.
John T. Sargent.
Geo. F. Simmons.
J. D. Sweet.
Wm. Silsbee.
Herman Snow.
Wm. P. Tilden.
James Thompson.
J. W. Thompson.
J. Thurston.
M. G. Thomas.
Edward Turner.
Zephaniah Willis.
M. W. Willis.
John Weiss.
R. C. Waterston.
William Ware.
J. F. W. Ware.
L. Wiswall.
R. F. Walleut.
J. K. Waite.
Wm. H. White.
John White.
G. W. Woodward.
E. B. Willson.
L. Wilson.
O. H. Wellington.
Samuel Willard.
Wm. A. Whitwell.
H. Withington.
Frederick A. Whitney.
Jason Whitman.

*Mr. I. S. Smith, and a few others whose signatures are affixed to this paper, are occasional preachers, and candidates for the ministry, having at present no pastoral charge. .

At a session of the Rhode Island, and Massachusetts Christian Conference, in New Bedford, the 9th, 10th, and 11th instant, the "Protest of Unitarian Ministers against American Slavery," was referred to the Business Committee, and by them reported entire to the meeting. On the question of its adoption, the members of the Conference all rose and voted unanimously, as follows:—

Resolved, That this body cordially approve of the sentiments of the above Protest, and wish that this action of the Conference, should be forwarded for publication by brother Wm. Coe.

Signed, HERVEY SULLINGS, Pres't.
JOSEPH BLAGRAVE, Clerk.

From the British Indian Advocate.

EXTRACT

Of a Speech of George Thompson on the case of the Deposed Raja of Sattara.

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON rose and said—

Sir,—In pursuance of the notice which I publicly gave at the last General Court, I rise to call attention to the case of the deposed Raja of Sattara. At the commencement, let me state, that the course I am about to take upon this subject, is one which has not been adopted at any of the previous discussions which have taken place in this Court. It is not my intention, on this occasion, to enter upon the question of the guilt or innocence of the deposed Raja of Sattara, except in so far as that question may incidentally arise in the progress of the investigation which I purpose to pursue upon another branch of the subject. My present object is to expose the conduct, and, as far as public and official documents will enable me to do so, to ascertain and lay bare the motives of those who have severally and conjointly been concerned in the ruin of the Raja of Sattara. The task, which, under a deep sense of duty, I have assigned to myself, is that of exhibiting the true moral, political, and legal character of the proceedings that have, for a series of years, been carried on against that prince. I enter upon this task with an impression of its solemnity and importance, which no words of mine can adequately describe. I find it impossible to view the case of the fallen Raja of Sattara by itself alone. In my mind, the dethronement, spoliation, and banishment of that prince, stand connected with the condition and destiny of every other prince throughout the wide realms of British India. I regard the conduct pursued towards the Raja of Sattara, as part and parcel of the general administration of affairs across two hundred millions of the human race, whose fortunes and fate, by an inscrutable permissive Providence, is placed at the disposal of this Company. Regard the treatment of the prince, whose case is now before us, as a mere manifestation of the prevailing spirit in which British rule is administered in India. For six years I have devoted myself, as I have had opportunity, to the study of the history, condition, and government of India, and I am prepared to say, that the case of the Raja of Sattara is but a specimen, a sample, an individual case, illustrative of an untold and inexhaustibly numerous class of cases of a similar description. I see in the Raja of Sattara but one of a host of victims brought to degradation and misery by similar means; and I am deeply persuaded, that unless it pleases the God of nations to awaken this Christian country to a just concern for the welfare and rights of the people of India, and a due sense of their awful responsibility to the natives of those vast territories, which, by the power of the sword, we have obtained in Asia, the fate of the Raja of Sattara is but the type and forerunner of the fate which awaits, at no distant day, every prince within the reach of our power. But it is not of princes and potentates alone, that I am thinking. It is impossible to see an enlightened, virtuous, and beneficent ruler hurled from his throne, and spoiled of his property, without taking a fearful look of the prince, what must be the condition of the peasant? If rank, and eminence, and loyalty, combined with rare talents and rarer virtues, plead in vain for the rights of those distant Governments, and to review their decisions. And what do I see? A body of men under the dread obligation of an oath sworn upon the Gospels, who have invoked the Deity to help them as they do justice, and love mercy, without respect of persons, sanctioning and warmly commending an act of violence and spoliation, towards a man who, for twenty years, was our faithful ally, without permitting him to be heard in his own defence. I see these men approving the robbery of a nation of their prince, and that prince of his throne, and of his most sacred personal property, without allowing either people or prince to be heard in his or their own defence, or to show cause why the sentence should not be carried into execution. Need I say that for five years we have labored in this Court to obtain for the Raja of Sattara a hearing, and have labored in vain? What then? Shall we give up our demand for a hearing? Never! Shall we cease our indignant protestations against the sacrilegious desecration of the principles of judgment and justice in this case? Never! Met by repeated denials and insults, shall we faint in our efforts, and resign the Raja to his fate? Never! From this place I say to the Raja of Sattara, and I know that it is not in the power of the East India Company to prevent the echo of my voice from reaching him in his banishment—I say to him:

Take courage, most unhappy man of men,
And though thy native woods no longer shed
Their influence around thee, though thou rest thy head
Pillow'd in foul oppression's sultry den,
Beneath the doom of sordid cruel men—
Puberty called Christians; yet, die not—do thou
Wear rather in thy hands a cheerful bow;
Tho' fallen thyself, never to rise again,
Live, and take comfort. Thou hast left behind
Powers that will work for thee; Air, Earth, and Skies;
There 's not a breathing of the common wind
That will forget thee: Thou hast great allies:
Thy friends are Exultation, Agonies,
And Truth, and man's unconquerable mind.

Communications.

Letter from G. W. F. Mellen.

(Concluded.)

To return. After citing the evidence, that Governor Hammond gives, that the South does not look to the Constitution to sustain her in the position she has now assumed, let us see if the *delusion*, as he calls it, cannot be eradicated from the mind of our Northern people, that we may go with united hands to the work, and both morally and politically endeavor to convince our people of its wrongfulness—of its utter subversion of our Government, and if it should continue, the necessary subjection of our whole people to its blighting curse. Let us impress upon them the necessity if they wish to save their children, or their children's children, from its cruel yoke and bondage; they must awake from their slumbers, while they may, and say in their united majesty, it shall no longer exist; that this new continent shall be freed from its dominion, that they will carry out the ideas that our Fathers promulgated: "that all men were born free and equal," and that their children will no longer prove themselves unworthy sons of worthy sires. But you say, prove our sires were worthy, for that is the question; did they not make a law that the fugitive slave should be returned, and point out the manner in which it should be done? I answer, and fearlessly answer, no such thing! and even if the immediate successors of the men who formed the Constitution had made any law for that purpose, our present Court, to which some of our people bow down with such reverence, as it would seem they suppose it can do no wrong, have decided all such laws are unconstitutional; that the Constitution, in this particular, *executes* itself, and that the Government of the United States has nothing to do with the subject, and so far as that portion of the decision goes, it cannot but be hoped, that all our people will give full heed, and remember that they have nothing more to do in the premises, for the Constitution, in this thing, has executed itself.

But did not our fathers make a law, that fugitive slaves should be returned? No! About five years after the Constitution was adopted, a criminal fled to the State of Virginia, from New-York. He was demanded of her, but the Governor answered, that although there was a provision in the Constitution, that such criminal should be given up; yet, as no one rule pointed out whose duty it should be to attend to the delivery, he did not feel at liberty to assume the responsibility; and as there was no other power in the State that could be applied to, application was made to Congress, to point out, or designate who should do this thing. Pending that discussion, the slaveholder, ever alive to his interest, as in the case of making a constitutional provision for the return of the criminal, comes in to demand that some provision should he made to return the fugitive slave, and plagued, and vexed Congress for two years with the subject, and prevented any law being passed to return the criminal, when, finally, they passed a law that the person who *owed service* should be returned by an application of the claimant to a justice of the peace, carefully using, in every particular, the form and wording of the clause, as it now makes part of the Constitution, and none of our justices should ever have given up a person, but upon the express condition that the "*service*" was "*owed*;" but instead of looking at the wording of the law, or of the Constitution, they have all, except in the case of the Vermont Judge, who said the slaveholder must bring a bill of sale from the Almighty, have given up the slave when claimed, without any question, till the case of Prigg *vs.* Pennsylvania, the Supreme Court decided, not only that the justices had been doing wrong for fifty years, but that *Congress* had no right to make any law on the subject. While I would hold, that if the letter or the spirit of the law in strict justice, was perfectly justifiable, because if a man have agreed to perform a certain work, and have deserted his post, he according to the common idea of the obligation of contracts, should be made to discharge his obligation; and as it was labor, and not money that was *due*, there was no other way for him to conform to his obligation, but to go in person,—hence, I cannot but think the law was justifiable, and strictly legal, and the court was wholly at fault in its decision; though, fortunately, it has broken up a course of proceeding that was anything but right in our justices of the peace.

Therefore, while we rejoice that these proceedings have been stopped, let us not forget the greater wrong, that has been done in allowing the slaveholder to commit an act which the court has here admitted that it is not in the power of the Government to do; that is, to seize upon any man, and by claiming him to be a slave, placing the onus probandi upon the individual, to prove his title to liberty; in effect going upon the presumption that we are all slaves, if the slaveholder should happen to claim us as such, instead of going upon the presumption that we are all free, and making it incumbent upon the person who claims us, to show we are slaves. And he has the right, if he can, to take us by force, and carry us where he chooses, only making him responsible for the wrong he may have committed, if we can get out of his clutches. This, I believe, is a true interpretation of their decision; and now I ask, is there any man in this country, who believes our Fathers made any such law, or would have submitted to any such an understanding; no! they would have been fools if they had, and so far from being lauded for what they had done, they would have received the execration of the whole civilized world, and yet because they did not proclaim to the slave, what they had really done for him, in hopes the several States, in their individual capacities, would do without exercising the authority of the General Government, we now see the sad result to which our judges would reduce us. O! tempora! O! mores! We would now give the individual person—the slaveholder—more real power than we entrust to our Government.

But that our Fathers did not do any such thing, I will allude to one point more, and conclude this long communication. It is said, they justified Slavery because they allowed slaves to be represented. Pardon me if I deny that assertion, with the qualification, however, if there were any other persons besides free person, then they were to have lent three-fifths of a vote, and that only. As persons were they to be received, not as things, and being persons they should have come in according to the provisions of the Constitution, to enjoy all of the rights of persons, and if the South had performed its obligations, this present discussion had never been made,—no slaves could have existed in our land. And here let me remark, that in the hot haste to accuse the South of doing a most villanous deed, it never has seemed to have occurred to any one, that the South had any obligations to perform under that instrument; that the North had conceded everything, and the South had nothing more to ask, or to do. I will not stop here to ask why the many provisions in favor of liberty, that are embodied in that instrument, has not been given to the slaves, but confine myself to the fact, that in allowing any other persons, but free persons, and those bound to service, to vote, or be represented, they covenanted to do so, *alone* on the principle, that they should be considered *persons* and not *things*, for the South wanted them to be received among things; but on no consideration did they compromise that point, and every amendment was proposed, and means tried to effect that object; but they were proposed and tried in vain, and the instrument is not disgraced by such an admission, and by not making it, and making no distinction in the persons, whose rights were to be guaranteed, and the South by conceding the principle, the whole slave population was brought under its provisions, and to enjoy its privileges, and the South, as in the former part of my communication I have shown, knows it, and consequently is guilty of a wrong, of which she should, and ought speedily to repent.

Yours, truly,
G. W. F. MELLEN.

Constitution of the United States.

Mr. GAY:—In reading over the resolution offered by Henry C. Wright, before the Glasgow Emancipation Society, I find the following:—"Whereas, the Constitution of the United States by express provisions, binds the whole nation to protect slaveholders in carrying on the slave-trade, and in stealing and enslaving men; to aid in capturing and returning their runaway slaves; and by arms to suppress all attempts of their slaves to throw off the yoke of their bondage, and whereas this construction," &c.

This language, perhaps, cannot be called singular, but it is surprising that a man of Mr. Wright's information should use such, before any audience, and unless it is for the purpose of making out, that even the best of governments are a nuisance, without regard to the means used, such language is surely unaccountable. So entirely unjust, and false in the meaning it conveys. Be sure the British Government will not be deceived by it, but many of her people will; because they will not take the trouble to read the Constitution, and the action of our Government in regard to the Slave-Trade.

The Constitution makes no such express provision, as is stated; at no time did it ever say it would protect the Slave-Trade. There is a clause in the Constitution, which says that if any of the States were desirous of importing persons into their several jurisdictions, they could, without the interference of the Government prior to the year 1808, which time has long since passed, and since that time it has been declared piracy, by our Government, for any of our people to be engaged in the Slave-Trade, and so far from the Constitution's suppressing all attempts of the "slaves to throw off the yoke of their bondage," there are express provisions in the Constitution, of which, if the slave could or had taken advantage, he would have been set at liberty the moment he set his foot upon our soil, for what, with the use of the writ of *habeas corpus*, which liberated every slave in Great Britain, was declared to be the constitutional law of that realm, in the case of Somerset, was by the adoption of our Constitution, made the constitutional law of the United States, saving in cases of rebellion or foreign invasion, the public safety might require its suspension; consequently it has been in the province of every slave, as well as every other person, in their individual capacity, to make use of that writ to obtain his freedom, and every State, and every Judge in every State, are forbidden to withhold it by this much abused Constitution; be sure the slave, not, however, as a slave, but as a person, is forbidden, as all other persons are forbidden, to cause a forcible insurrection, or rebellion; this the Government is bound to put down, and we cannot well conceive of a Government, if it did not claim and exercise the right, if need be, of doing so. The rights of the individual being thus clearly defined, and, if proper steps should be taken, clearly secured, forcible resistance by lawless mobs were to be suppressed, as we cannot but think every Abolitionist, would say. Such then is the nature, and true theory of our Government. That its provisions have been perverted, both by our Governments and our Judges, none probably will deny; but let us be careful not to confound the Constitution with acts, which are sometimes said to be done under and according to its provisions. It is from such confusion, all such mistakes, as Mr. Wright here makes, arises, in conjunction with the influence which the slaveholder exercises over the minds of our people. It is time we should disabuse ourselves of such deceptions.

G. W. F. M.

Letter from Nathan Evans.

WILLISTOWN, Chester County, }
9th mo. 30th, 1845. }

FRIEND GAY:—My mind has been turned to the contemplation of the signs of the times in relation to the progress of civil and religious liberty in these republican United States. I therefore assuredly do believe that the potency and power of truth, enforced and pressed home to the minds with an unanswering firmness, is God's only artillery for man to work the redemption of his fellow-man, and that I have lived to see the truth, that no man is qualified to speak and act out the truth, that will forward the great cause of civil and religious liberty, till he is disenthralled and redeemed from the soul-destroying influence of circumstances, or corrupt public sentiments, in Church and State. Is it at all to be wondered at, that despotism, with all her horrid train of evils, should obtain the mastery throughout our land, when we see with what duplicity, and want of faith in the equality of human rights, generally pervades the great mass of what is commonly termed the laity, in all the professing Christian churches, throughout the world. Is it possible that the great mass of the people who compose these ecclesiastical hierarchies, while laboring under the immoral and debasing influence of priestly dictation, and who have never had, or laid claim to an equal participation in the affairs of the church, or disclaimed the obligation of calling "any man master but the *Truth, as it was in Jesus*;" I say, is it possible that the people thus circumstanced and debased, will do Anti-Slavery work? I think not. A man must first disenthrall himself from all laying on of the hands, except the laying on of the hand of God, who is the only rightful Master of mankind, because of His holy attributes of love—"just and equal." Then was it at all to be wondered at that the Anti-Slavery cause should be at war with a church claiming a name to live, and is dead to all that constitutes the true Church of Christ—"Justice, mercy, and truth." It was to such a church that Christ said "He came not to bring peace, but a sword." It then properly belongs to the truth to detect these things done in their corners, and expose them upon the house-top. I may also note the dastardly attack of the Democratic and Whig republicans of Kentucky, on the liberty of the press;—their fearful foreboding, common to tyrants, at the advancement of light, because "*their deeds are evil.*" What a pity the Whigs could not have been content to have let the Democrats have all the glory of that day's work. But it may be all right, that Herod and Pilate can be made friends in crucifying civil and religious liberty. It is by these deeds we know them. Stern power will herald this black deed throughout the world.

Thy editorial on Lysander Spooner's defence of the Constitutional Compact, is good—just exactly what ought to be said,—in which the nail is hit on the head, and drove fully home. Truly the worshippers of this great American Goddess Diana dies hard. Why attempt to bolster up an infamous compromise, a dereliction of principle, a compact and covenant, purely selfish in character, which they declared was for them, and their posterity—whose moral standard of righteousness was so far below doing to their neighbor as they would wish their neighbor to do to them, that they pledged all the strength of the nation to prevent their neighbor from attempting to do what they had wasted two hundred millions of money to accomplish. Alas! Alas! for poor, frail human nature. They loved liberty purely for themselves. The public is much indebted to the Standard for a fair specimen of Democratic Republicanism, from the Perry [New-York] Democrat. Is it not astonishing how this hardened impenitent sinner can sport and cater to a corrupt public sentiment, developing his pilfering, thievish propensities; a rebel to common humanity, and the light of the day, wallowing in the stygian pool of infamy. These vile productions go further to convince the rational part of the community of the pro-slavery character of modern democracy, and their utter recklessness of principle, than their authors are aware of. Garrison has given us a fair sample, a few weeks back. But why enlarge—there is not anything new in these wicked overflowings but what is common for all reformations to encounter. David describes them as "The sons of Belial, that shall be all of them as thorns thrust away, because they cannot be taken with hands. But the man that shall touch them must be fenced with iron, and the staff of a spear, and they shall be utterly burned with fire in the same place."—2d Samuel, 23: 6, 7. There is one decree that applies to such beings, and never did, nor never will fail, "That the wickedness of the wicked shall always be upon him." Therefore, be of good cheer, the Anti-Slavery cause has many things to tell this stiff-necked generation, that they are not able to bear yet. But if we are faithful to the teaching of light after light, and in faith persisting, we shall in the end, safe arrive at the accomplishment—liberty for the slave.

It is to be regretted the editor has to beg so much for the just demands. Is not the laborer worthy of his hire? Is not a paper that has, with one exception, done more to rouse a guilty nation from the slumber of death, than all the vile trash that has cost millions to sustain them in their downward track to perdition. It is to be hoped the cause of asking for one or two years' subscription, may cease, henceforth and forever. Therefore go on, and hold fast the crown that is contending for the truth. God is always on the side of truth. How long is the great mass of human wretchedness to continue? I answer, till the measure of wickedness is filled up.

NATHAN EVANS.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, OCT. 16, 1845.



To Delinquent Subscribers.

The Executive Committee have determined to adhere still more closely than they have yet done to the cash principle. Ample time has been given to all to balance their accounts, and the following arrangement may be considered as final:

All persons who owe more than two years will receive no more papers after two months from this date have elapsed, unless they have paid in the meantime to the commencement of their current volume.

NEW-YORK, August 14, 1845.

Jealousies.

The enemies of the Anti-Slavery movement (and they are neither few nor feeble) have ever proved themselves wise in their generation. Their policy has always been to divide and conquer. They instinctively know that a united body of men, devoted to a great and unselfish end, is of necessity invincible, and that it will, if unbroken, finally accomplish its purpose. They therefore endeavor on all occasions to sow or to foment divisions in its ranks. In this work they are helped by those who begin to be aweary of their unprofitable labors, who think their services not properly rewarded, or who imagine that others, with no greater pretensions, have more weight and consideration in the movement than they. Unfounded suspicions and jealousies, are scattered abroad, and attempts are made to introduce disaffection, where there should reign only a oneness of spirit. Appeals are made to the lower and more sordid elements of human nature, and attempts to excite envy, hatred, and malice, and all unchristianlikeness, are but too often rewarded with a partial degree of success. Such blows are always aimed at those who have devoted themselves in the greatest singleness of mind to the common cause, and made the greatest sacrifices, and the most untiring efforts for its advancement. Now this is wisdom on the part of the unfriends of the cause, for there is none so effectual a way to impede and destroy it, as to destroy the confidence of Abolitionists in those whom they have been used to trust with undoubting faith. But it is not wise on the part of Abolitionists to listen to such attempts to destroy their mutual reliance upon each other.

In early times, the enemy endeavored to break up the enterprise by brute force, and by the violence of mobs. This, however, had only the natural effect of uniting and consolidating the Anti-Slavery hosts. "But Satan now is wiser than of yore," and he finds that his policy is to break up the unbroken front of the army, by sowing dissentions in its ranks. Now the suggestion is made that this or that faithful servant of the slave, is getting tyrannical and overbearing. Now it is whispered that his or the other part of the country has too much influence in the management of affairs. Again it is hinted that certain persons are attacking, on the Anti-Slavery platform, what may not be legitimately touched upon it. And then, on the other hand, it is whispered that they are getting conservative, and fearful of carrying out Anti-Slavery principles to their legitimate results. Now it is said that there is a disposition in certain quarters to interfere impertinently with local matters which do not properly belong to them; and again complaints are made that a spirit of partiality is shown in an undue attention to certain portions of the country, to the neglect and disparagement of others. But above all, it is the favorite cry of the enemy that there is an *aristocracy* of wealth or of talent that design to keep the whole control of the enterprise in their own hands, and to monopolize all the glory of its success!

Of all these evil and absurd inventions of the enemy, the last is the most preposterous. An Anti-Slavery aristocracy! The very idea is an absurdity upon its very face. When a man becomes an Abolitionist, he finds at the very outset that he has, whether he anticipated it or not, placed himself on a level with the slaves of the land;—with the outcast Pariahs of the Republic. He is looked upon and treated, by the open enemies, and the pretended friends, of his cause, even as a slave, and receives a slave's portion of hatred and contempt. He finds very early in his career, that he must make his election between his former condition in life, and the consideration and advantages attending it, and the faithful performance of his new duties. There is no one who has entered the cause in a true spirit, that has not found such renunciations required of him. There is no position in life so humble, that it is not separated by a great gulf from the degradation of the slave. On this common platform, all men meet on terms of the most perfect equality. If there be a democracy in the world, it is to be found in the Anti-Slavery enterprise; where humanity alone, without distinction of rank, wealth, office, sex, clime, color, or condition, constitutes a claim to share in it; where every one is left to decide, on his own responsibility, his fitness or unworthiness to participate in its labors and duties. An imputation that there exists in any quarter a wish to control the movement for the sake of gratifying a love of power, or any selfish purposes, is as unworthy of any true-hearted Abolitionist to entertain for the sake of his own self-respect, as it is false and ridiculous in itself.

It is true that God has made differences between men. To one he has given ten talents, and to another five, and to another one. This man he has blessed with eloquence, and that man with the great gift of *influence*, and power over the minds of men. Some he has placed in a situation to render one class of services to the cause, and others he has enabled to serve it in yet different ways. But all these gifts are thrown into the common treasury of the slave, and appropriated to his service. If a man have abilities which applied to the vulgar objects of pursuit, would have raised him to the high places of the State or the Church, is it any ground of reproach to him that he has chosen rather to devote them to the help of those who have no helper, without hope of reward, other than the approbation of his own conscience? And if such gifts, so generously applied, do of necessity make him conspicuous among his brethren, before the world, is that his fault? Is it not a circumstance in which those of us who are not so blessed, should rejoice for the slave's sake? And when, from the necessities of the case, and the nature of human affairs, the interests of the common cause must be confided to the hands of a few persons, during the intervals of the assemblies of the Abolitionists, is it just to suppose that they are moved by any unworthy motives in consenting to assume those responsibilities? Depend upon it, it is an enemy, that would scatter such tares among the wheat. For what are the privileges they acquire by accepting this trust at the hands of their brethren? The privilege of being more intensely hated, more unscrupulously vilified, of having their characters maligned, their life's life lied away, of being made the mark of all the shafts of hatred, slander, and obloquy. The privilege of assuming responsibilities without reward, of expending their lives and talents without earthly remuneration. The privilege of being always the first to encounter the attacks of the enemy, and but too often to suffer under the misapprehensions of the friends. If such prizes are likely to pervert true men from their high aim to selfish ends, they are differently constituted from the rest of mankind. If any are ambitious of such an eminence, they will find no objection on the part of any occupying it, to yield it in their favor, if they do but show their willingness and capacity to fill it.

All attempts to excite local jealousies, are equally unworthy of men engaged in a nation's, in a world's enterprise. As Nathaniel P. Rogers once well said, "Anti-Slavery knows no State lines." All Abolitionists belong to one State, to our Kingdom. Wherever there is work to be done there is the field for all; wherever events make the point of especial interest, there is the place of *rendezvous* for all enlisted in the warfare. We belong to a continental army, and not to any State line. The scene of active service may be now at Bunker's Hill, and now at Long Island, and now at Monmouth, and again at Yorktown; but wherever there is fighting to do, there is the place of the true soldier of liberty. We do, indeed, for the convenient despatch of business, and from the finite nature of man, which forbids our being in more places than one at the same time, have our local organizations, but it is for the purpose of accumulating, not of repelling co-operation. The Anti-Slavery citizenship is as wide as the world. Wherever there is a heart that burns at the tale of the slave's wrongs, and is ready to devote itself to his deliverance, there is a member of every genuine Anti-Slavery Society in America. Whether it beat in the bosom of man or woman, of bond or free, of barbarian or civilized man, of learned or unlearned, of rich or poor, it is everywhere, within the sphere of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, a diploma of membership, a certificate of naturalization, and perpetual letter of recommendation, entitling the wearer to all the rights, privileges, and sympathies of Anti-Slavery fellowship. We know of no such thing as "foreign interference." No man is a foreigner or a stranger to us, who is ready to put on our uniform, and to fight by our side. We wish we had more Lafayettes, and Pulaskis, and Steubens among us. As to our own country, the spirit of liberty overlooks all State boundaries, and gathers all her true sons into one united brotherhood. He is a bastard, and not a son, who seeks to separate them with hostile, or unfriendly factions.

Union of action, and oneness of counsels, is essential to the peaceful abolition of Slavery. Those who love Slavery for its own sake, or who hate Anti-Slavery for the imaginary train of evils they see waiting upon it, know this, therefore, they attempt to destroy the one, and to dissipate the other. It behoves Abolitionists to be on their guard against all such insidious influences. They should not lightly repose their trust in any one, in so momentous a cause as Anti-Slavery; but having thus seen cause to confide in the fidelity of their associates, they should be very slow to withdraw their confidence, without ample and apparent reason. Abolitionists are not necessarily raised about the passions and infirmities, which have made shipwreck of many a noble cause.—But, after the experience they have had in their past history, they should be, at least, elevated above the influence of petty jealousies, and unfounded suspicions. It often fails to the lot of Abolitionists to censure, or correct the errors or mistakes of those whom they hold in their heart of hearts, and love with a more than fraternal affection. This fidelity, though the truest test of friendship, is often distorted into a hostile shape, by unfriendly officers. The medicine which is proffered by the hand of friendship, is thus changed into a poisonous draught, and affection only of alienation and estrangement. This should never be. Good faith, and mutual trust should be an everlasting safeguard against such mischiefs. A singleness of eye directed towards the great end we have in view, is the surest method of learning to overlook petty subjects of arrogance. A confidence, well earned by years of devoted service, in the fidelity of those to the cause, whose every action may not be entirely agreeable to us, or according to our views of right and true expediency, should save them, at least, from unreasonable suspicions, and unkind imputations. We must needs differ one from another in some degree, in our philosophy, and in our method; but we may, at least, be all of one spirit. We can, at least, believe that those who have never betrayed the cause, but have been faithful to it, in its most trying hours, are still true to their professions, until we have proof to convict them of falsehood. Until then, we can agree to differ, and still act harmoniously and unitedly together, in all essentials of action. This harmony of spirit, this mutual confidence, resting on deeds not words, this devotion to a great common cause, will describe a magic circle around the friends of the slave, which jealousies cast out, and suspicions exorcised, will never dare to overpass.—Q.

Unitarianism and Slavery.

The Unitarian body in England, some time since, addressed a letter to their American brethren, affectionately urging upon them the fulfilment of Christian duty on the subject of Slavery.

American Unitarians were not, as a body, in a moral condition to make an honorable reply; but among their number are reckoned some of the earliest, the truest, the most constant, and devoted, of such as have not shrunk from being numbered with American Abolitionists; and these deeply felt the pain and shame of such an exposure of American wickedness and weakness, as the refusal of the Unitarian body, as such, to fulfil its duty.

They felt, and numbers of their Unitarian brethren felt with them, the necessity of a distinct expression against Slavery, and a protest was consequently prepared for general signature.

[For this excellent paper, see a preceding column.]

Whoever may deem its spirit narrow, stern, and intolerant, its language harsh, and denunciatory, and its advance too fast, and too far, which many will doubtless be found ready to do, we are not of the number: for it is *true*, as this protest declares, that he who makes a slave, commits the greatest possible robbery, and the greatest possible wrong; that Slavery is the sum of all unrighteousness, a constant sacrilege against the soul, violating the law of love, making life insecure, breaking up every family tie, sanctioning adultery, perilling female innocence, perpetuating ignorance, producing all vice, fostering sensuality, falsehood, threadery, theft; producing licentiousness, cruelty, arrogance; utterly opposed to the humility, meekness, and self-denial of Christ, and not only anti-Christian but inhuman.

If this is harsh, it is no harsher than truth; if this is stern, it is no sterner than justice; if this is narrow and intolerant, it is so on the right grounds. It is narrow in the same sense as is the way that leads to life. It is intolerant, as every expression of Christian and human feeling towards sin ought to be. Creeds and systems of theology are one thing—the Christian standard of morals is quite another thing; and we can have no controversy with him whose intellect is not equal to apprehend the distinction between the bigot of a sect ready to call down fire from heaven on all who follow not him, and the martyr to a principle, who will die rather than put bitter for sweet, or sweet for bitter, confound the precious with the vile, or compromise everlasting right.

It is quite possible to protest and yet be dragged along; and if this movement had been a mere protest, we should not have received so high a degree of satisfaction from it. But it is far more, if followed out as it has been begun. Finding it impracticable to procure Anti-Slavery action at the present time, in the denomination, the signers of this document have come out of it, in order to discharge their consciences by the free expression of feeling, and opinion, and intention, on this great moral question of their age and country. They will find it ever the true way to obtain general action, not to wait for it, but to pioneer its way.

And not only have they themselves stepped in advance of others, but they call also on their brethren at the South, especially of the same denomination, "to come out from all participation in this sin."

In addition to their exodus and their *denunciatio contestata*, the signers of this paper add their exhortation; imploring all men to put forth their full energy in the most efficient modes of their own choice. They shall not hear from us the absurd and hostile cry—"give us your plan!" which greeted this exhortation when it was first uttered by Abolitionists. We cannot, in consequence of it, call them, as it has caused us to be styled, "the do-nothing society," for we naturally sympathize too deeply with the freedom of choice, which alone can secure full energy, even if we had not suffered persecution enough for our tolerance, to have learned the lesson.—Abolitionists have never prescribed means—they have promulgated principles; and knowing that the will in always sure to find a way, they have addressed themselves to men's hearts and consciences.

The subscribers of this paper, deserve the grateful acknowledgments, not only of every Abolitionist and every slave, but of every human being, in that they have recognized universal principles as the true basis of reformatory action; or, to use the expression with which, as members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, we are most familiar, for acting on the broad platform of humanity. "Every sufferer whom we can relieve," they say, "is our neighbor, though a stranger, of another race, and of another land; the wrongs of the slave are our wrongs; and since we do not combine to subscribe creeds, and fix systems of theology, the readier should we be to unite in practical endeavor to remove moral evils." If the practical carrying out of sentiments so noble and just, causes these friends of the Anti-Slavery movement to be stigmatized as amalgamationists, incendiaries, mediesome, unpatriotic, encouragers of foreign interference, latitudinarianism, and infidelity, it will not be from our lips that a sound shall come to swell the cry, for our association as Abolitionists being irrespective alike of party, sect, clime, or color, has made "our country the world, and our countrymen all mankind;" and prepared our hearts, as the heart of one made up, though we are of sects called by Unitarians illiberal, to hail rejoicingly this simple and noble language of the protest. "To the schemes of party leaders, to political majorities, to the united treasures, arms, domains, and interests of the nation, pledged to the extension and perpetuation of Slavery, let us now oppose the simple majesty and omnipotence of truth. 'For who knows not that truth is strong next to the Almighty.'"

It has been said that men are never really struck with anything in the expressions of others, which are not also true to their own experience, and an expression of their own minds. This, perhaps, is the reason why Abolitionists like the protest of the hundred and seventy;—it says what themselves have thought and found true. Especially are they pleased with the following clause, which furnishes the main reason for the existence of the American Anti-Slavery Society:—"All these considerations would lead us to speak individually, and separately. But our combined voices may be heard more widely, and be more regarded; and we therefore speak in company."

On another point they rejoice, in observing an identity of view in this protest, with the one in their own minds; that, namely, respecting the degrees of iniquity in slaveholding. They have never assumed to judge of the comparative guilt of individual slaveholders; that being in their view, a judgment to which only an Omniscient and Almighty being could be competent. They declare that whoso makes a man a slave is *guilty*; for so much is demanded by allegiance to right and truth. But to make allowance for the circumstances which may modify the degrees of guilt between the enlightened Doctor of Divinity for instance, who persists against the clearest light, in standing by and sustaining things as they are, and the ignorant underling, who has sinned only against the instincts of humanity, and who means, at some more convenient season, to reform his practice,—this Abolitionists shrink from, as being a responsibility too weighty for any intelligence, but that Divine one, which sees the end from the beginning.

Where every other part of the mail is so excellent and perfect, it is painful to point out the one weak spot in the armor; but the truth will not permit us to pass by one sentence without remarking in it a want of precision, a possibility of its covering inconsistency with the requisitions of Unitarian usage, as well as Anti-Slavery principle. Unitarians have a *virtual* discipline, which is consonant alike to religion and good sense—Scripture and reason. While they forbid not even a Judas to come to the Supper, (not theirs alone, but also their Lord's,) still they do make a practical distinction between the drunkard, the licentious, and the thief, and him whose work and conversation is irreproachable. Freedom, virtue, and consistency, alike require that the same practical distinction, whatever its form, be drawn between the adherent of freedom, and the slaveholder.

It may be that the half-sentence to which we refer, is capable of being understood in the best sense. We desire to understand it so, and we can, if by the term Christian fellowship Unitarians mean what other sects understand from the words, "human fellowship." If, however, they mean to express by it any shade of sanction for Slavery, of course it vitiates the whole protest.

But, from the spirit that breathes through the whole document, we feel bound to come to a different conclusion; and doubt not the purpose of those who have adopted it, to draw aright the line of division between the just and the unjust, on the question of Slavery.

What Abolitionists ever contend for is the universal ethical foundation, or moral distinction, made evident in every man's own practical and chosen way of bestowing personal approbation and disapprobation; and they see, in this protest, one chosen mode of expressing such moral distinction between man and man. We know the hearts of S. J. May, S. May, W. H. Channing, John Lewis Russell, Robert F. Walcott, Increase S. Smith, O. H. Wellington, Charles Briggs, Caleb Stetson, William Coe, John Parkman, W. Barton, and many others, whose names are affixed to this protest, and of more still, have no reason to doubt that they feel the deep import, and solemnity of the pledge they have taken.

We commend it to the universal American conscience, before "the heart of the nation" shall be quite "eaten out."

"And we, on our part, do hereby pledge ourselves before God, and our brethren, never to be weary of laboring in the cause of human rights and freedom, till Slavery be abolished, and every slave made free."

We commend the whole document to the careful and prayerful perusal of all denominations of Christians. It is this body of Unitarian come-outers, that now takes the advance, on the Anti-Slavery question, in the so-called religious world of the United States. If that world will not outrun, may it at least find grace to follow this movement, one which cannot fail to tell powerfully upon the conscience of the nation.—c.

Frederick Douglass in Ireland.

Douglass and Buffum have attended several meetings in Dublin, and its vicinity, since their arrival in Ireland. They have received a hearty welcome, and are doing a good work for the cause. James Haughton thus speaks, in a letter to the (Dublin) Freeman's Journal, of the presence of Douglass at a Temperance meeting:—

"Our meeting at Celbridge was rendered remarkable by the presence of Frederick Douglass, a colored man, who was, only a few years ago, a slave in America, but who had the manliness, and the courage to assert his right to liberty, by running away from bondage. I say manliness, and courage; for it needs the exercise of both to risk the perils and dangers which the poor negro must encounter, when he determines to flee away from his enslaver. Mr. Douglass is a fine looking man, possessed of a full flow of natural eloquence, which must make him a popular orator before any audience. He spoke warmly in favor of teetotalism, and was much applauded. He said, feelingly, he was not accustomed to such kind treatment from white men."

We have received the document which follows, from R. D. Webb. These repeated proofs of the sincerity and devotion to the Anti-Slavery cause of our Irish friends, are not only gratifying in themselves, but evidences of how hard a thing it is to be a true Abolitionist anywhere, and how wide-spread is the influence of the pro-slavery Church of the United States. If the Friends of this country were true to their own testimony against Slavery, their brethren in Ireland could have listened very quiety to Frederick Douglass's rebuke of the Church. It is because they feel the truth, and the application of his words, that they cannot bear them. All this is another proof of what is really the chief bulwark of Slavery. The example of the Webbs, in their prompt protest against the course of the Society, is an example which some, calling themselves Abolitionists, on this side the Atlantic, may well follow.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN DUBLIN.

DUBLIN, 17th of ninth month, 1845.

DEAR FRIENDS,—We learn with regret, that the MONTHLY MEETING of DUBLIN, has this day concluded to withhold the further use of the Friends' Meeting House, in Eustace-street, from FREDERICK DOUGLASS, for his Lectures on American Slavery.

We cannot imagine anything more inconsistent with the profession the Society makes before the world, than the reasons we have heard assigned for this decision. No objection was made to the character of the lecturer, or to the truthfulness of his testimony; as far as he is concerned, the FACTS he was obliged to bring forward to prove his positions, form the chief difficulties in the way of Friends. The objections that were made were of three kinds.

Some Friends, who make no special objection to anything that has been said in the course of the two lectures delivered by FREDERICK DOUGLASS, do not wish that their meeting-house should be applied to any other purposes than those of worship and discipline. The cause of humanity appears not in their eyes holy enough for the meeting-house premises. We know they would not like it to be supposed that they believe, in common with most other Christian professors, that there is something especially sacred in the bricks and mortar of a place of worship; for Friends look upon all ceremonies of consecration as rank superstition. Nevertheless, many, although they cannot precisely tell why, do not feel easy at the idea of any such place being *made use of*, except in a religious capacity. The association of ideas is so strong upon their minds, that they unconsciously give way to the same superstition which they condemn when openly manifested by others. It would otherwise be difficult for such as these, to assign any objection to the meeting-house being lent for the purpose of hearing Frederick Douglass, who was once a slave, and is now a man, reveal the dark secrets of the house of bondage, and point out to us the means by which we may assist in the blessed duty of "undoing the heavy burdens, and letting the oppressed go free."

How can the *Anti-Slavery Meeting* be objected to, whilst the *Finance Committee* startles nobody, though held on the same premises?

Some Friends fear that Frederick Douglass does not express himself in a sufficiently gentle spirit. Only think of those who have been nurtured in the lap of ease, who have never experienced cruelty, hunger, or the midnight of the mind which is the fate of the bondsman, asking the slave to speak in silken terms of Slavery. Frederick Douglass has drank the bitter cups to the dregs. His back is even now furrowed with the cowskin, his soul burns with the wrongs he has endured; the slaveholders have done their utmost to make a brute of him; and at this moment, if they yet live, his grandmother, his brothers and sisters, and other companions of his youth, are crouching beneath the iron heels of Christian professors in the South.

Objections such as these, are called *pro-slavery* in America. They are such as are continually thrown in the face of Abolitionists, by those who say they are *as anti-slavery as anybody*, whilst they *do* nothing themselves to prove their sincerity, and can never be satisfied by anything that is done by others for the overthrow of Slavery.

A third class of objectors are those who, while they have no objection that an Anti-Slavery lecture should be delivered in our meeting-house, cannot bear that anything offensive to any class of professors should be uttered there—much less anything in the slightest degree insinuating that Friends have not done their duty in the Anti-Slavery cause. We may portray the sin of Slavery in the darkest colors, but it will never do to charge it home to the sinner, or to say to him, "Thou art the man." Yet this exposure is the very thing that is necessary. Sin never becomes so insidious as when it takes the cloak of religion to serve the devil in. Anti-Slavery has had no more dangerous foe to contend with than pro-slavery religious communities, or religious societies, which, whilst they professed regard for the slave, refuse to make any effort to break his chains.

The Church members of nearly all the sects in the free States, recognize their fellow-professors of the South. This intercourse, cemented by commerce, intermarriage, and social intercourse, inevitably tends to strengthen the pro-slavery sentiment in the national mind. We scarcely appreciate how powerful are sectarian influences; they have grown with our growth, and strengthened with our strength; it is difficult to be unmoved by any insinuation derogatory to the fair fame of the religious body to which we belong. We readily forget the claims of humanity in deference to those of our sectarian organization. No wonder, then, that religious bodies in Ireland should wince when they hear the conduct of their slaveholding fellow-professors portrayed in the colors which truth demands; when they listen to documentary evidence of the extent to which Conferences, Synods, and General Assemblies, have conceded to the demands of avarice and oppression.

If the nominal Christianity of the slave States support the horrible system of Slavery, it must be exposed to the execration of the world. It must not avail a slaveholder to say, that he is a Methodist, a Presbyterian, a Baptist, an Independent. The facts must be told. A mere relation of the cruelties and perfidy inseparable from Slavery will not do. We must strip away the mask of religion worn by the slaveholder. This must be done; and no man who relies upon principle, will hesitate to do so.

Since the increase of steam navigation has brought the United States so near to us, we have learned that Friends in America, as well as all other sects, have been obliged to lower their testimony—their practical testimony, we mean—in order to conciliate the good opinion of the pro-slavery community. We know that they are as deeply imbued with the odious prejudice against color, (that offspring of the institution of Slavery,) as any other portion of the people. We are aware there are some bright exceptions, but, alas! they are comparatively few. The sum of the Society's exertions in America, now consists in an occasional address from a Yearly Meeting, or a Yearly Meeting's Committee, instead of the hearty individual exertions, which result from a true appreciation of the evils of Slavery, and a sincere desire for their removal. If we are in earnest, we would not rest satisfied that half-a-dozen select friends should keep the conscience of a whole Yearly Meeting at ease as to their duties, when every one should put his shoulder to the work, for the extinction of this cruel, bloody, unchristian system.

What is "a testimony" worth, if it be not felt and acted upon? Are we to be satisfied that we have done our duty in the matter, if once a year we send a gently breathed whisper across the Atlantic to our American brethren, reminding them of their duty, whilst they respond by half a whisper in reply, to the effect that they will act when "a right opening" comes. A right opening! When their houses burn, when their children drown, when money is to be made, or political parties to be aggrandized by their assistance, do they sit with their hands before them, and wait for "right openings"?

Let us beware lest the love of reputation, and the wish to stand well with the community, outweigh our regard for the claims of humanity. We do not act as if we felt that our *brethren* were in bonds; as if we *believed* that "God has made men of one blood to dwell upon the face of the earth." As a Society, we are not in earnest on this question; we rest complacently, satisfied with the good deeds of our predecessors.

Oh, that the consciences of Friends were aroused on this great question. This would be the case if we turned our attention to its many important bearings; to the degradation of the slaveholder; to the sufferings, the heathenism, the brutal prostration of the unhappy slave. Think of 2,800,000 men, women, and children, in the worse than Egyptian night of Slavery. Feel for the perversion of every right principle, which reconciles six millions of professing Christians to thd perpetration of such wickedness. Neither civilization, nor religion, nor the happiness of the human family, can prosper in any extended sense, so long as Slavery is permitted to curse the United States. Every one has it in his power to hasten the day of its overthrow. No amount of religious profession, no solemn testimonies, no washing of the outside of the cup and the platter, will excuse us from doing our parts in the matter.

We remain respectfully, your friends.

RICHARD D. WEBB,
THOMAS WEBB.

A Militia Captain "in a Fix."

Everybody knows, or ought to know, that the citizens of this goodly city are not so immersed in the cares of money-making, that they deny themselves that privilege which is esteemed so valauble in other sections of the republic. They find time to be patriotic even in New-York. That glorious proof of the sovereignty of the people, the "Fall training," is not yet obsolete among us. In all our public squares during the last week in September, our citizen-soldiery, armed with muskets or broom-sticks, as best suits their individual tastes, learn the art of war, under the command of a brave captain in motley, to the admiration of a crowd of ragged newsboys and other irreverent spectators.

Our friend Thomas Van Rennselaer, a colored man, received a notice to attend one of these glorious gatherings. Of course it was a mistake, as the citizens of his color are excused by the philanthropy of our laws from doing any of this sort of service. In cases of actual necisity the State will permit them to enjoy the privilege of being shot, but can in nowise put them to the inconvenience of any previous preparation. But Thomas Van Rennselaer, ever ready to obey the call of his country, borrowed bayonet and belt, musket and cartridge-box, and armed and equipped as the law directs, appeared at the appointed hour on the Battery.

In bearing and equipment he was as tall and as good-looking a grenadier as one would wish to see, and he took his position accordingly in the front rank with his fellow-soldiers. There was a movement in the ranks, and the crowd around them—that just perceptible rustle, rather felt than seen, which denotes in an assembly that something unusal and interesting has happened—when he made his appearance. It was doubtless an involuntary acknowledgment of the honor which one exempt from the toils and the glories alike of military life, had done them by thus promptly signifying his willingness to share in their perils. But the captain, mindful of the humanity of our just laws, and unwilling to impose upon the new recruit the duty of serving his country when there was little probability of his gaining the honor of a bullet or a bayonet through him, which under other circumstances she would be willing to bestow, beckoned him aside.

"Did you receive a warning to train?" asked the captain.

"Yes, Sir," replied Van Rennselaer, giving his name and residence.

"Ah! yes," said the other, "I remember. But there is some mistake."

"None at all, Sir; I have the notice in my pocket."

"Hem! yes. But you are not obliged to train."

"Oh! I know that, Sir; but I am a good citizen and am willing to serve the State in any capacity."

"Oh! no doubt, no doubt. But—but—the fact is, the laws do not oblige colored men to do military duty."

"Very true, Sir; but is there any law against it?"

"No—not e-x-a-c-t-l-y. But—"

"Very well, Sir, I choose to train. I have received your notice, and here I am all ready for service. The law does'n't oblige me to train,—neither does it prohibit me. I prefer to do it."

"Yes, I see, I see. But I will excuse you."

"I do'n't want to be excused, Sir."

"Well, I had *rather* excuse you."

"You are very kind; but I hav'n't the slightest objection to training. It wo'nt take us a great while, will it, Sir?"

"Oh! it will take us an hour or so."

"Well, Sir, I'll train. I can spare the time."

"But I do'nt want you to."

"But I had rather."

"Well, I *insist*—"

"That I must not?"

"Yes."

"You wont let me?"

"No."

So private Van Rennselaer having carried his point, of *being denied* the *privilege* of making a fool of himself according to statute, because he was colored, shouldered his musket, gave his unwilling commander a military salute, and marched off the field with the honors of war. The redoubtable captain relieved his bosom by a heavy sigh of its pent-up emotion, and as he wiped the cold sweat from his brow, thanked God that he was relieved from the most dangerous foe that in all his military experience he had ever encountered.

I have related the occurrence, as nearly as I can recollect, precisely as it occurred. In justice to Mr. Van Rennselaer, I should add, lest the case be misunderstood, that his only motive was to test the strength of the prejudice against color.

New Books.

MARGARET. A TALE OF THE REAL AND IDEAL, BLIGHT AND BLOOM; INCLUDING SKETCHES OF A PLACE NOT BEFORE DESCRIBED, CALLED MONS CHRISTI. *Boston: Jordan & Wiley.*

Many persons will pronounce this book to be sheer nonsense from beginning to end. Others will throw it aside half finished, as too stupid to waste time upon. Some will declare it too transcendental for their reading; and others still, that it is rank blasphemy, too bad even for trunk-makers, and fit only to be burned by the common hangman. At the risk of differing from all these good people, and offending some of them, I have to say of it, that it is to me a remarkable book, with much good common sense in it, full of deep thought, pervaded throughout with strong religious feeling, a full conception of the essence of Christianity, a tender compassion for the present condition of man, and an abiding hope through love of what his destiny may be.

Yet is not the book without its faults. It has many, both of conception and execution, which mar its beauty, and its wholeness. The style is often confused and tiresome. There is a mannerism and something very like affectation about it, which will disgust those who do not, and pain those who do, enter into the author's thought. His descriptions of New England life, familiar as he seems to be with it, are overstrained, and often caricatured. A dear lover of nature, and intimate with all her various moods and features, from the bleak winter's snow-storm to the still summer-noon,—from her hills of granite to the blue-eyed grass, he dwells often with a minuteness of detail upon his landscape paintings which is tiresome to those even who love nature as deeply as himself. This propensity hurries him too sometimes into such incongruities as grasshoppers in spring, and raspberries in the autumn. He is no less particular in his description of indoor life, and seems rather to have taken an inventory of his neighbors' kitchens, and door-yards, than to have generalized from the manner of living among New England people. Neither is the plot of the story clear, or very ingenious. Indeed, it is rather clumsy, sometimes incomprehensible, and in its subsidiary parts, hangs very loosely together. To one who is only an adept in the art of novel-reading, "Margaret" would have little charm, and were its sale to depend on them, doubtless it would fall still-born from the press. But the author has woven this rough texture of a tale, only that he may embroider thereon the rich flowers of his higher thought. The book will be read for this, and its faults forgotten and forgiven for its beauty.

The chief charm of the first part, is its naturalness, though this is sometimes overdone, and sinks into burlesque. The author brings the popular religion and theology, much of our every-day artificial life, and some of our social institutions, which go unquestioned among the many as useful, and as righteous among the pious, under the notice of the young child Margaret, and applies to them the touch-stone of her simple and pure nature. The religion of the meeting-house is contrasted with that which the loving spirit of the child has learned in the woods, and from the flowers, and from the song of birds, in and among which she dwells. She would carry flowers to meeting, and is rebuked for defiling the holy place; she would give them to the haggard prisoner confined for murder, and is driven away with stones for breaking the Sabbath, and interfering with the wholesome discipline which the law inflicts; she looks upon the training-field, and cannot understand why men should slay each other. Surrounded by vice, and living in scenes of riot and drunkenness, among the ignorant and degraded, made familiar with stupid superstition, and without any of the common advantages of education, except such as she acquires from a quaint old dominie, and accustomed to almost squalid poverty, the young child grows up to womanhood, her innate purity preserving her uncontaminated from all these evil influences. The world which the good God has spread around her, and which man can only mar, but not destroy, and the strange and beautiful muse of her brother Chilion, are the only outward circumstances that can mould her character for good. These, and the dreams which give her glimpses of a higher and purer life, fit her for the progress which she afterwards commences, and the end to which she attains. In the history of her early days, the writer paints the social condition from which the world has not yet emerged, but in which the human soul preserves the beauty and the power with which the Creator originally endowed it.

It is impossible in a mere newspaper notice, to do more than briefly glance at the progress of the story, and the unfolding of the author's thought. In her "youth," Margaret enters upon new trials, and new scenes and associations. That, which in her childhood was vague and shadowy, takes positive form as the powers of her mind and heart become developed. Passing over the cruel death of her brother Chilion—the most interesting character in the book—her own unsuccessful efforts to maintain herself, and relieve her family from distress, the establishment of new relations, with those whose mission it was to lead her from darkness to light, her departure from the home of her childhood, which she loved so well, and the new world of thought and knowledge, and the new life which all there unfolded to her, we come to her womanhood. We have watched the progress of humanity, and enter now upon a new social state.

And here in the life of Margaret, as a woman and a wife, the author gives us his idea of the mission of Christianity, and the true relation which man should sustain to his brother man. The allegory is complete, when the cross, wreathed with flowers and evergreen, is raised upon Mons Christi; the statue of Diligence is erected at No. 4; discord, and drunkenness, and vice, are no more to be found within the borders of Livingston, and all the people are gathered into the fold of the *true* Church of Christ; the wilderness is made to bloom as a garden; art and science minister to all the wants of men; the prison becomes a pleasant abode for those few who need its reformatory discipline; when on the stone over the grave of Chilion, who was hung as a morderer, are engraven these words, "Here lies one who tried to love his fellow-men;" when men are no longer idle, for labor has become honorable; when education has become universal, and the powers of each individual mind receive the development they seek; schism, and sectarianism have ceased to be, for all men seek the truth for her own sake; when love reigns in all, and over all, then has Margaret, then has the race, attained all that was longed for, all of which the dreams of her childhood foreshadowed and promised. To quote from a letter of Margaret's—"When we love God, and love our fellow-men," says our Bishop, "then, and only then, is our insight clear, our judgment sound, our strength available, and our resolve steadfast. Hereby, alone we attain to virtue, are inspired by beauty, and moved to greatness. The spirit of Christ in a man, does more enlarge the mind, develop the capabilities, animate the will, than all other things. In the new Heavens and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness, art, poetry, painting, sculpture, taking new forms, from the Divine life of the soul, shall offer to the world unexampled creations, and transcendent grandeur. This is the secret of what you behold in Livingston, Anna; all contained in a nut-shell."

I doubt if the book becomes a popular one, for it will not "meet the witness" in the hearts of the crowd. The Fourierite, and the communitist, will not find in it their peculiar tenets, though, they will recognize the same great idea, which they hope to realize. But all who like Margaret "dream dreams," and "see visions," and look for that time to come, when man shall have "worked out his own salvation," and peace shall reign on earth, and good will to men, will, if they can pardon the faults of the book for its merit, read it with avidity and pleasure.

G.

ERRATA.—The printer made me say a very ridiculous thing last week, in the leading article. In the last paragraph, instead of "we want *two* more members," I said, "we want, too, more members. Will *every* (not '*any*') one bring a new one?" Also, in the sixth line of the first paragraph, I said, "*prove* their party,"—not "to *have* their party."

☞ MASS MEETING AT CAMBRIDGE.—The Anti-Texas meeting adjourned from Concord to Cambridge, is to be held on Tuesday next, the 21st instant, at Old Cambridge, in Lyceum Hall. It is only necessary to announce it to our friends, that they may add to the crowd that ought to be gathered there.

C. M. CLAY.—The True American is re established, and the first number contains Mr. Clay's account of the Lexington outrage. It is too long a document, and was received too late for this week's paper to be published entire. We prefer to give it all to our readers at once, and do not therefore commence it this week.

FREE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION.—Our readers in Pennsylvania, and elsewhere, who mean to attend the meeting of this association, are reminded that it is to be held on Tuesday next, the 21st instant, at 10 o'clock, a. m. in Clarkson Hall, Philadelphia.

☞ The friends engaged in writing for the Liberty Bell, *are earnestly requested to be as speedy as possible.*—C.

This Week's Paper.

FOURTH PAGE—*Poetry:* Hymn for the Dead. *Miscellany:* Marie; or Slavery in the United States (*continued*). Extract from a Sermon, by Rev. John Weiss. The Slave Poet. Bulwer on the Water-Cure. The Holy Thorn.

FIRST PAGE—*Peculiar Institution:* The Slave Auction. Lawless Proceedings. *Pro-Slavery:* Menial Insolence. C. M. Clay. Extract. Anti-Union Abolitionists. *Selections:* Letter on Slavery. Protest against American Slavery, by one hundred and seventy Unitarian Ministers.

SECOND PAGE—Extract from a Speech of Mr. Thompson, on the case of the deposed Raja of Sattara. *Communications:* Letter of G. W. F. Mellen. Constitution of the United States. Letter from Nathan Evans.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

General Items.

World's Convention.—The World's Convention has terminated its deliberations. Its labors were closed by the adoption, by pretty general consent, of the following

RESOLUTIONS.

1st. That the World's Convention has been called to ascertain if any of the parties were prepared with a well digested and matured scientific plan of society, calculated to solve the great problem of the age: "How the superabundant materials and power now at the control of society may be applied to produce permanent prosperity and superior conduct in each for the benefit of all, and how this change can be immediately effected in practice with the least division, inconvenience or evil to existing arrangements, in order the more speedily to relieve society from the ignorance, poverty, division, crimes and misery, with which the population in all countries are now severely afflicted."

2d. That with this extended view it became necessary to admit to a full and fair investigation whatever plans were presented to the Convention, that the public might have an opportunity to ascertain the progress which has been made towards the attainment of this, the most important object which can now engage the attention and consideration of the best disposed, most talented, and extensively experienced members of society.

3d. That various partial plans have been submitted to the Convention and fairly and fully discussed, that some of these appeared to the Convention very crude and ill-adjusted, while others were deemed to contain valued isolated principles that may be beneficially introduced into a regular scientific arrangement of society.

4th. That Mr. Clinton Roosevelt submitted a well-corrected and deeply-considered plan of society, with explanatory diagrams; a plan which contained many most valuable principles and suggestions, that might be advantageously applied to assist in the formation of a superior arrangement of society.

5th. That Robert Owen, the President of the Convention, submitted a plan based upon the principles of universal charity, of a moral, scientific, federative, self-supporting and self-governing society, purposely devised in its outline and detail, to ensure the well-being, well-doing, comfort and happiness of every one of its members, physically, mentally, morally, and practically, through life, under new arrangements that will benefit all and injure none, leaving religious liberty perfectly free to all, according to their individual consciences or opinions.

6th. That he deems the most likely mode of effecting the change from the present system of society to the one which he proposes, to be by joint stock companies, like railways and other large undertakings, for the profit of the share-holders and of the tenant who occupies, under such conditions that the latter shall ultimately become the proprietors, by purchase, of their individual society, and thus gradually make land public property.

7th. That a society be formed in the city of New-York, to prepare a well digested prospectus for joint stock companies, to construct scientific, federative, self-supporting and self-governing societies, on the principles of equal rights and of a sound, practical equality, in accordance with the Constitution of these States, as established by the far-seeing founders of this new Republic.

8th. That branch societies over the Union be formed and connected with the Parent Society in New-York, to give true explanations of the principles and object of the World's Convention, and promote the forming of these joint stock companies.

9th That a committee be appointed to prepare the constitution, rules and regulations, of the Parent and Branch Societies, and to draft a condensed statement, for publication, of the proceedings of the first World's Convention, and that an annual World's Convention shall be held in this city, to commence its sitting on the first day in October in each year.

10th. That the unpaid expenses of this Convention be paid by the Parent Society now proposed to be formed.

11th. That the Chairman be requested to appoint at his leisure, members of this committee, of such persons as he may deem the most likely to promote the great object now attempted to be attained.

The President then expressed his great satisfaction with the success of this first "World's Convention," which is to be resumed annually, and then dismissed the Convention for the year.—*Tribune.*

The Millerites Attempting to Raise the Dead!—Last Sunday, one of the followers of Miller and Himes, committed suicide at Nashua, N. H., by walking deliberately into the Merrimac river, in presence of several persons on the opposite side, who could not reach him till he had drowned. It soon became noised about among his Miller brethren of the town, a number of whom repaired to the spot, took charge of the body, and carried it to one of their own houses. All at once they became filled with faith that they could restore him to life, and with that view actually prayed and sang over the corpse nearly all Sunday night. It is perhaps needless to say that they did not make a *raise.*

Such a degree of infatuation at this enlightened day, is hardly credible, but the above facts come to us in such an authentic form, that we are not permitted to doubt the statement, as strange as it may seem.—*Boston Times.*

An Interesting Meeting.—A grand council of the Six Nations, is to be held at the Indian village of Tuscarora at Tonawanda, to fill the vacancies occasioned by the death of two Sachems and several chiefs of the Seneca nation. The Grand Sachem of the confederacy will be present and preside. Governor Blacksnake, from the Alleghany reservation, was expected, but his great age—ninety-six—it is understood, will prevent. No grand council of the Six Nations, has been held for the last thirteen years. All the Nations of the renowned confederacy, except the Mohawks, will be represented.

Rank of a Slave.—The following, from the Nashville Gazette of a recent date, is a unique specimen of the "peculiar" literature which prevails in those portions of the United States where

"Hideous Trade, loud laughing,
Packs his bales of human anguish."

Of course everybody understands the infamous purpose for which the age, size, and form of the "likely" girl are described.

For Sale—For Cash—A likely negro girl, 15 years old, good size, form, &c. She is A No. 1.

Aug. 31. J. C. PENTECOST.

"*Pentecost*"! what a theme for pungent satire is suggested by such a name standing in such a place.—*Tribune.*

Later from Haiti.—Captain Alden, of the schooner Bridgewater, arrived this morning from Port au Platte, whence she sailed on the 28th of September, reports that on the evening before he sailed official intelligence reached that place of a battle between the Häitians and Dominicians, fought near Matayaga, in which the Häitians were totally defeated.

They lost their artillery, provisions, &c. A strong Dominican force was posted at Santiago and on the Northern frontier. Great enthusiasm prevailed throughout the Dominican portion of the island, and commercial transactions were uninterrupted.

The inhabitants of Port au Platte and Santiago had purchased the American barque Alert, and offered her to the Dominican Government. She was to be armed with 14 carronades and 2 pivot guns, the latter 32 pounders; and for this purpose was to proceed to the city of St. Domingo on the 27th of September.

The Bridgewater left at Port au Platte five Dominican men-of-war schooners. Produce was extremely low.—*Commercial Advertiser.*

A White Fugitive from Slavery.—Mr. P. Lee, of Maysville, Kentucky, advertises seven runaway slaves, and offers a reward of seven hundred dollars for their apprehension and arrest. Among the fugitives was an infant four months old, and a white woman described thus by Mr. Lee:—

"*Fanny, the mother of four children, is about 25 years of age, white as most white women—straight light hair!*"

Mr. Gough's Health.—We regret to hear that Mr. Gough was attacked by a series of fainting fits on Sunday evening last, in consequence of which his medical attendant, who remained with him for a long period, has positively forbidden his seeing any of his friends for the present. His situation is still so precarious that the greatest care is requisite, in order that a full restoration of health may be effected.—*Boston Journal, Monday.*

The Kentucky Rioters.—The Western papers state that several of those engaged in the moving of Mr. Clay's press and types from Kentucky, were indicted by the Grand Jury, and have subsequently been tried and *acquitted.*

Wm. Penn lately died in London, aged 70; he was a great grandson of the celebrated Wm. Penn, the founder of the Province of Pennsylvania.

In reference to the outbreak at Alleghany City among the operatives, the Pittsburgh Gazette, of Tuseday, says, that everything was quiet.

Thursday, the 4th day of December next, has been appointed as a day of public thanksgiving and praise in Maine.

The debate at Cincinnati on the question whether Slavery is in itself a sin, between Rev. Mr. Blanchard and Rev. Mr. Rice, opened on the 1st instant, and excited a deep interest, crowds being in attendance.

Elihu Burritt refuses to stand as the Liberty Party candidate for the office of Lieut. Governor of Massachusetts.

Magnetic Telegraph.—It is expected that the line between this city and Boston, via. Hartford, will be in operation next month. The citizens of Springfield, New Haven, and Bridgeport, have secured depots in their respective towns.

Four Duels and one Murder are noticed in the New Orleans Picayune of the 27th ultimo.

The Delhi Trials Concluded—Sentence of the Prisoners.—The trial of O'Conner, for the murder of Steele, was concluded on Saturday, when the jury rendered a verdict against him of "Guilty of Murder." The Court then took a short recess, and at 10 o'clock re-assembled, when John Van Steenburgh, convicted of the murder of Steele, was placed at the bar, and on being asked if he had any thing to say why sentence should not be passed upon him, he replied, "I am innocent; I don't think I ought to be punished." The Judge then in a solemn manner proceeded to pass upon him the sentence of the law, ordering him to be executed on Saturday, the 19th of November next. O'Conner was then sentenced to be executed on the same day. As he was leaving the court room the prisoner turned upon the audience and said, "Remember, my friends, I die an innocent man."

The following sentences were then passed upon the anti-renters who had pleaded guilty of manslaughter: D. W. Squires, Moses Earl, and Zera Preston, imprisonment for life in the Clinton County Prison. Several others received sentences of imprisonment, varying from two to ten years.—*Mirror.*

The Virginia Kidnappers.—The Governor of Virginia, could not act upon the requisition of Governor Bartley, of Ohio, for the delivery of the men engaged in this business, without the advice of the Council of State, whom the law requires him to consult. The decision is looked for with great interest.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

For the Standard—from September 13, to October 1, 1845.

Moses Pierce, Pleasantville, N Y	$2 00	
William Flynn, South Woodstock, Ct	4 00	
Benjamin Tripp, Marengo, N Y	2 00	
John Higgins, Centreville, R I	5 00	
O. S. Chapin, Reynales Basin,	4 00	
Francis Jackson, Boston,	2 00	
Dea. S. Lothrop, Cambridgeport, Mass	2 00	
Miriam B. Johnson, Lynn, "	2 00	
Ruth Pratt, "	2 00	
Paul G. C. George, Haverhill, "	1 00	
S. R. Kendall, Boston,	6 00	
Nathaniel Barney, Nantucket,	6 00	
Benjamin Barney, Weedsport, N Y	6 00	
E. Coleman, Rochester, "	11 00	
J. Robbins, Millbury, Mass	1 87	
James Cope, Malta, Morgan county, O	2 00	
Lauren Wetmore, New-York city,	2 00	
John Christie, Portsmouth, N H	2 00	
J. R. Scott, Marlborough, O	5 00	
S. S. McFarland, Framingham, Mass	2 00	
Daniel Pound, Clarkson Centre, N Y	2 00	
A. Weller, Skeneateles, "	1 00	
Nancy Robinson, Dover, N H	2 00	
J. Judkins, Barnesville, O	6 00	
Roswell Goss, New-York city,	4 00	
Joseph C. Gibbons, Trumansburgh,	4 00	
Joseph Congdon, New Bedford,	2 00	
J. R. Robeson, "	2 00	
Joseph Ricketson, "	2 00	
Nathan Johnson, "	2 00	
O. Prescott, "	2 00	
George A. Bourne, "	2 00	
T. D. Ellicott, "	2 00	
E. Arnold, "	2 00	
Joen Searing, Poplar Ridge, N Y	2 00	
Harvey Chash, Valley Falls, R I	2 00	
L. Tisker, Morgan, Ohio,	3 00	
Anna Gardiner, Nantucket,	2 00	
Wm. Farwell, Cambridgeport,	2 00	
Wm. Dall, Boston,	50	
John Rohie, Weymouth, Mass	2 00	
Benjamin Ambler, Danbury Ct	2 00	
Elias Degarmo, Rochester, N Y	75	
Lewis Burtis, "	75	
		111 87

Donations.

Sarah S. Russell, West Roxbury, Mass	50 00	
Lauren Wetmore, New-York city,	2 00	
D. S. Grancin, Brunswick Me. on account pledge,	5 00	
Daniel Ricketson, N Bedford, (pledge)	20 00	
		77.00

Total amount, $188.87

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

John Adams, N. Y. city, for Jonathan Walker, $2

Married,

In Philadelphia, on the 29th ult. Dr. JOSEPH GIBBONS to PHEBE EARLE, eldest daughter of Thomas Earle, Esq.

NOTICES.

AN AGENT APPOINTED.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society of Eastern Pennsylvania, &c. held ninth month 23d, 1845, the following resolution was adoptep:

Resolved, That Isaac S. Flint be appointed an Agent of this Society, and that his principal duty shall be to solicit subscriptions to the National Anti-Slavery Standard, and Pennsylvania Freeman, to procure signatures to the Constitution and contribution to the funds of the Society.

From the minutes,
HAWORTH WETHERALD, Sec.

On behalf of the Executive Committee we would recommend our friend Isaac S. Flint to the confidence and so far as it may be in their power the co-operation of the Abolitionists of Eastern Pennsylvania. From some years of acquaintance we know him to be a true man and an ardet friend of the slave.—EDS. FREEMAN.

RHODE ISLAND ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

The tenth annual meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society, will be held in the city of Providence, commencing on Wednesday, the 29th of October.

Friends are invited to attend. Refreshments will be provided, for such as wish, by the Ladies Society.

AMARANCY PAINE, Sec.

FREE PRODUCE.

The Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Free Produce Society will be held in Philadelphia, on third day, the 21st of 10th mo.

All persons interested in the cause of the slave, are earnestly invited to be present.

SARAH PUGH, Sec.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

Are you ready, dear friends, to commence with us preparations for the Pennsylvania Fair of 1845? Warm hearts and active hands we would enlist, at this early period, that no time may be lost which might be profitably spent in this service. Information respecting what is to be done, it can scarcely be necessary to offer to those who, year by year, have been laboring side by side with us in this department of Anti-Slavery toil, and whose skill and ingenuity have been again and again proved. We want whatever liberal souls will devise, and ready hands execute. The Committee commence their efforts this year with the hope of making the Fair superior to those of preceding years, but this hope cannot, of course, be realized, without your dilligent and hearty co-operation. On this we rely. Need we urge upon you motives to action? The slave has found no respite from his sufferings shall we seek respite from our labors in his behalf? Trusting that you are as ready for this work as ourselves, we suggest that you should immediately begin to inquire what you can give or do for this purpose, and how you can best enlist the services of your friends and neighbors. Will some active friends of the cause take measures for forming sewing circles in their neighborhoods, where articles may be manufactured, donations deposited, and interest excited for the Fair? From such a measure, much benefit, beside pecuniary emolument, results to the Anti-Slavery cause. Will not the friends of the cause in Chester, Bucks, and other counties, adopt this plan, and furnish tables, to be superintended by themselves at the Fair? And will not those who cannot conveniently unite with these circles, be diligent and faithful in individual effort? Of all the friends of the slave in city and country, we ask aid. Of the merchant, we ask contributions of merchandise, of the mechanic, the fruit of his handiwork; of the farmer, the produce of his garden, fields, and poultry-yard. But we ask of all *only* the products of *free* and *requited* labor.

Let us, dear friends, commence our efforts with a determination that our next Fair shall yield great and good results to our cause, and *it will do so.*

Contributions may be sent to any member of the Committee, or to J. M. McKim, No. 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia.

Emma Parker,	*Anna M. Hopper,*
Mary Grew,	*Maria M. Davis,*
Sarah M. McKim,	*Sarah Pugh,*
Hester Reckless,	*Martha Carman,*
Gertrude K. Burleigh,	*Sarah M. Douglass,*
Elizabeth J. Neall,	*Margaret Jones,*
Olive Bacon,	*Emily A. Winslow,*
Hannah L. Stickney,	*Margaret Griscom,*
Mary T. Stickney,	*Teresa K. Hallowell,*
Sarah Child.	

THE TWELFTH MASSACHUSETTS

Anti-Slavery Fair,

TO BE HELD IN

FANEUIL HALL,

AT THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR.

The undersigned, deeply sensible of the obligations of those who begin a work of beneficent reform to carry it forward to the end of their lives, have determined to continue, during the present, as in the eleven preceding years, to disseminate the moral principles, and awaken the feelings which alone can effect the abolition of Slavery.

If we needed fresh stimulus in a work, which perpetually renews the devoted spirit, we could not fail to find it in the present condition of our country. The supporters of Slavery, perceiving that the practice and the preaching of a higher morality, endangers the perpetuity of their system, hope by the annexation of Texas to maintain the balance of power in its favor. But Freedom can gain at the North faster than Slavery at the South, if those who call themselves friends of Freedom, will but labor with zeal and diligence in her behalf.

Our appeal is, in an especial manner, to those who are newly awakened to the nature of Slavery, and its unavoidable termination in political subjugation, and national ruin:—and, who earnestly desire to avoid the fatal consequences of the atrocious deed of Texan Annexation. If the people were awake to the importance of this question of Annexation to the welfare, to the honor, to the very existence of the UNITED STATES, *as such*, they would speak with one voice from every city, county and town throughout the free States, in that decisive tone which would settle the question in the negative at once and forever:—which would sunder any such connection already formed, as threads are parted by flame.

It is to awaken—to inform—to inspire the American people with a sense of what they owe their times, their race, and themselves, that we propose this effort, to be carried on through the year, and to be concluded in December next, with THE TWELFTH MASSACHUSETTS A. S. FAIR. Wherever, the country over, there is a single person professing an interest in the cause, whose eye this shall meet, let that person instantly commence operations for THE FAIR, and interest as many others as possible for its success.

We have the pleasure of announcing to those who have aided us the last year, that but little remains on hand of the contributions of the last Fair. The whole will have been converted into money before the next, and employed in supplying lecturers and publications. Let no one shrink from the duty of aiding us, because he does not deem the Anti-Slavery lecturers and publications the best possible;—our object is to arouse those whose office it *should* have been to bear the truth to *us:* those whom all confess to be, by their prudence, mildness, judiciousness, and position, rightly qualified for the work we have undertaken, if they could but be induced to undertake it. From among these, we fervently hope, will arise, such as shall put to shame all former advocates, by their devotedness, their zeal, their diligence, and their disinterestedness.

We request for the cause's sake, the immediate formation of Anti Slavery working clubs, for the aid of THE FAIR. Men can do as much for it as women, by furnishing the requisite funds; by making articles for it, as time permits,—the best specimens of their mechanical ingenuity, and manufacturing skill,—by sending the fruits of their agricultural industry. We ask not for the formation of sewing-circles *only*, but for working-clubs of every description. They may be made the medium of a happier social intercourse than commonly prevails. They may be reading societies and working societies, while their object is the promotion of the Anti-Slavery cause.

We ask of all our friends, and the friends of the cause, and the opposers of Texan Annexation throughout the country, to take the action above indicated. We ask of all such in this city, donations of money or materials, or orders for such articles as they prefer to purchase at the Fair.

Of the opposers of Annexation, we feel that we have a double *right* to ask aid: for have not *our* efforts aroused them to a sense of the danger and the wrong, and are not *their* efforts consequently due to awaken those who yet slumber over it? It is not more imminent now, than during all these years between 1835 and 1845, which they have slept away, while we watched and worked. Requite, now, to others, the good for which we should scorn the thought of a return to ourselves. We desire only to give the advantage of our personal exertions and experience in making this requital as extensively beneficial as economy and knowledge of the ground can do.

Donations and communications may be addressed to M. W. CHAPMAN, 25 Cornhill, office of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, or to either of the undersigned:—

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,
ANN T. G. PHILLIPS,
MARY G. CHAPMAN,
SUSAN C. CABOT,
ELIZA L. FOLLEN,
SARAH S. RUSSEL,
SARAH B. SHAW,
HELEN E. GARRISON,
LAVINIA HILTON,
ANNE WARREN WESTON,
MARIA LOWELL,
SARAH H. SOUTHWICK,
HENRIETTA SARGENT,
FRANCES MARY ROBBINS,
LOUISA LORING,
HANNAH TUFTS,
CATHERINE SARGENT,
M. A. W. JOHNSON,
CAROLINE WESTON,
ANNA R. PHILBRICK,
MARY YOUNG,
HARRIET M. JACKSON,
MARY F. ROGERS,
ELIZA F. MERRIAM,
CAROLINE F. WILLIAMS,
ABBY SOUTHWICK,
MARY WILLEY,
MARIAN FULLER,
ANN R. BRAMHALL,
LYDIA C. PARKER,
HARRIETT P. STURGIS.

Boston, August 29, 1845.

NEW-YORK WHOLESALE PRICES CURRENT.

CORRECTED WEEKLY FOR THE STANDARD.

ASHES.	
Pot, first sort 1844.	8.98¾ a 4.00
Pearl	4.12½ a 4.18¾
CANDLES.	
Mould, tallow lb.	9 a 11
Sperm	27 a 29
Stearic do.	22 a 25
COAL.	
Liverpool, chaldron,	8.50 a 8.75
Newcastle	6.50 a 8.00
Scotch	6.25 a 6.50
Sidney and Pictou	6.50 a 7 00
Anthracite, 2,000lbs.	5.50 a 6 00
COFFEE.	
Java, Gov't per lb.	9 a 11½
Sumatra	7½ a 7¾
Porto Rico	6¾ a 8¼
Laguayra	7 a 8½
Cuba	6 a 7
Brazil	6¼ a 8½
St. Domingo	6¼ a 6½
COTTON.	
New Orleans	7 a 10
Alabama	7 a 10
Florida	6 a 8
Upland	6 a 8
Upland, fair	7½ a 8
Upland, good and fair	8¾ a 8½
DOMESTICS.	
Shirtings, brown 3-4	5 a 6½
do. do. 7-8	6 a 7
do. bleached	7 a 9
do. S. I. do.	7 a 11
Sheetings, brown 4-4	6½ a 8
do. do, 5-4	10¼ a 12½
do. bleached 4-4	7 a 12
do. do. 5-4	12 a 15
Calicoes, blue	7 a 12
do. fancy	6 a 14
Plaids	9 a 11
Stripes, fast colors	8 a 10
Satinetts	40 a 75
Checks 4-4	8 a 12
Cotton yarn, 5 a 12	15 a 16
do. 14 a 19	18 a 20
do. 20 a 23	22 a 23
DRUGS & DYES.	
Alum, lb.	3½ a 8½
Cochineal, Honduras,	1.50 a 1.55
Copperas	1½ a 1¾
Gum Myrrh, E.Indies,	11 a 13
do. copal washed	31 a 40
do. Arabic Turkey,	25 a 35
Madder, Dutch	10 a 17½
Oil of Anis	1.45 a 1.50
castor, gall.	62½ a .65
Tartaric acid, lb.	40 a 42
Verdigris	17 a 20
Vitriol, blue	a 7
DYEWOODS.	
Brazilletto, ton	16.00 a 18.00
Camwood	25.00 a 70.00
Fustic, Cuba	26.00 a 30.00
do. Tampico	18.00 a 22.00
Logwood, Cpy.	25.00 a 29.00
FEATHERS.	
Live, foreign lb.	12 a 25
do. American	30 a 33
FISH.	
Dry cod, cwt.	2.56¼ a 2.62½
Dry scale	1.25 a 1.50
Pickled, bbl.	3.00 a 8.25
do. salmon,	14.00 a 14.25
Smoked do. lb.	.9 a .10
Mackerel, 1, bbl.	10.75 a 12.50
do. No. 2	9.50 a 10.00
do. No. 3	6.62½ a 6.75
Shad, Ct. hf. bbl.	5.75 a 5.87½
Bucksp't. bbl.	7.50 a 8.00
Mass. do.	8.50 a 9.00
Herring, pickled	3.50 a .
do. scale, per box,	a .50
do. No. 1	28 a .30
do. No. 2	20 a .
FLAX.	
Russia, lb.	9 a 11
American	6½ a 7½
FLOUR & MEAL.	
Genesee per bbl.	4.81¾ a 4.87½
Troy	4.81¾ a 4.87½
Michigan	4.75 a 4.81½
Ohio, round and flat	4.75 a 4.81½
Pennsylvania	4.75 a 4.87½
Brandywine	4.62½ a 4.75
Georgetown	4.62½ a 4.75
Baltimore c. mills	4.62½ a 4.75
Richmond c. mills	5.87½ a .50
do. country	.00 a 4.75
Alexandria	4.62½ a 4.75
Fredericksburg	. a 4.75
Petersburg	. a 4.75
Rye flour	3.25 a 3.50
Indian meal	2.50 a 2.75
do. per hhd.	11.87 a 12.
GRAIN.	
Wheat, Western and N. York, per bushel,	.95 a 1.05
do. Southern new	.95 a 1.00
Rye northern	70 a .71
Corn north'n & Jersey	58 a .60
Southern (weight)	54 a .55
Barley, N.R.	58 a .60
Oats, northern	38 a .41
do. southern	35 a .36
do. New-Jersey	
Beans, tce.	6.12 a 7.62½
HEMP.	
Russia, clean, ton	175.00 a 180.00
outshot	180.00 a 190.00
Manilla	142.50 a 0.00
American, dew rot	85.00 a 95.00
do. water rot	125.00 a 175.50
HIDES.	
B. A. & Rio Grande, lb.	12½ a 12¾
California	4 a 11
Orinoco	11 a 11¾
Mexican	9½ a 11½
S. American horse, piece	a
Calcutta, dry	65 a .75
HOPS.	
First sort 1844, lb.	12½ a 15½
HORNS.	
Ox, hundred	4.50 a 7.00
Cow	1.00 a 2 00

IRON.	
Pig, Eng. & Sc. ton	37.50 a 40.00
do. American	32.50 a 40.00
Bar do. rolled	85.00 a 87.50
do. Russia P,S,I,	100.00 a 102.50
do. do. N. Sable	a
do. Swedes	85.00 a .
do. Eng. com.	72.50 a 75.00
do. do. refined	85.00 a 87.50
Sheet E. & Am. lb.	7 a 7½
Hoop do. do. cwt.	5.50 a 6.50
LEAD.	
Pig, 100 lbs.	4.18¾ a 4.25
Bar, lb.	4½ a 4¾
Sheet	5 a 5½
LEATHER.	
Oak lb. (sole,)	18 a 22
Hemlock, light	14 a 14½
do. middle	13½ a 14½
do. heav,	12 a 13
do. damaged	10 a 11½
LUMBER.	
Boards, N. R. M. ft.	35.00 a 40.00
do. east pine	10.00 a 11.00
do. Albany, piece	8 a .18
Plank Ga. pine, M. ft.	33.00 a 40.00
Scantling pine	14.00 a 16.25
do. oak	30.00 a 35.00
Timber oak, cu. ft.	.25 a .37
do. Ga. yel. pine	.35 a .40
Shingles, cy. M.	11.00 a 18.00
Staves w. o. pipe M.	50.00 a .00
do. do. hhd.	40.00 a .00
do. do. bbl.	30.00 a .00
do. r. oak hhd.	28.00 a 30.00
Heading, w. o.	40.00 a 45.00
Hoops	25.00 a 30.00
MOLASSES.	
New-Orleans, gall.	26 a 30
Porto Rico	25 a 28
St. Croix	28 a 30
Trinidad, Cuba, Muscova	26 a 28
Martinique & Guadal.	— a
Havana & Matanzas	24 a 25
Neuvitas	27 a 30
NAILS.	
Cut, 4d a 40d per lb.	4 a 4½
(3d 1 cent and 2d 2 cents more.)	
Wrought, 6d a 20d	10 a 12½
Horseshoe, No. 7 a 9	18 a 20
NAVAL STORES.	
Tar, bbl.	2.00 a –
Pitch	81 a .87½
Rosin, N. C. & W.	.65 a .80
Turp. Wil'ton soft	2.75 a 2.87½
do. N. C. soft	2.75 a 2.81¼
Spirits turp'tine gal.	40 a 42
OILS.	
Olive, in casks, gall.	90 a 92½
Linseed, American	65 a 66
Whale refined	50 a 55
Sperm, crude	88 a 91
do. winter	95 a 96
Lard oil,	70 a 75
PROVISIONS.	
Beef mess bbl.	8.00 a 8.50
do. prime	4.25 a 4.75
Pork, mess bbl.	13.75 a 14 00
do. prime	10.37½ a 10 75
do. cargo	a
Hog's lard	7½ a 8¼
Butter, West dairy	15 a 16
do. Orange county	22 a 25
do. common	9 a 10
Cheese, Am. lb.	6½ a 7½
Hams smoked	8 a 10
RICE.	
Ordinary, 100 lbs.	3.37½ a 4.50
Good to prime,	4.87½ a 5.00
SALT.	
Turks Island, bushel,	33 a
Bonaire	32 a 33
Curacoa	24 a 26
Ivica	
Cadiz	28 a
St. Kitts	a
Lisboa	28 a 24
Liverpool, gr'd, blk.	a 20
do. do. sack	1.00 a 0.10
do. do. fine	1.30 a 1.35
SOAP.	
New-York, brown. lb.	3½ a 5½
Castile	8½ a 8¾
STEEL.	
German lb.	10½ a 13
English, hoop L.	13 a 13½
Trieste, in boxes	6½ a 7
American	5 a
Spring	5¾ a 6
SUGARS.	
St. Croix, lb.	7½ a 9
New-Orleans	6⅝ a 7½
Cuba, Muscovado	7 a 7½
Porto Rico	7 a 8
Havana, white	10 a 11
do. brown	8 a 9½
Cuba, white	8½ a 9
do. brown	6¼ a 8
Brazil, white	9 a 10
Manilla, brown	8 a
Loaf	12 a
Crushed	12 a
TALLOW.	
Foreign, lb.	
American	6½ a 7
TEAS.	
Imperial, lb.	35 a .90
Gunpowder	35 a .90
Hyson	43 a .88
Young Hyson	35 a .85
Hyson skin	22 a 60
Souchong, Powch'g, &c.	15 a 55
Bohea	a
TIN.	
Block, South Am. lb.	a
do. East India	15⅞ a 16
In plates ⅓ ⋈ box	9.00 a 9.25
WOOL.	
Am. Sax'y. fleece, lb.	36 a 38
do. merino	32 a 34
Pulled, superfine	31 a 32
No. 1	28 a 30
No. 2	22 a 24

WILLIAM GUNNISON,
GENERAL COMMISSION MERCHANT.
101 SOUTH ST. (BOWLY'S WHARF,)
BALTIMOR ;MD.

January 9, 12m.

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

HYMN FOR THE DEAD.

MY DEAR SIR—Your selection of *Stabat Mater*, with a translation of remarkable excellence, made me wish to see one of the no less celebrated *Dies Iræ*. Doubtless the last may have been equally well done, by the same, or another hand, but I was unable to find any metrical version of it. Since making the subjoined attempt, however, I learn that a very fine one is to be found in the Quarterly Review of 1828. I send you this before seeing that, lest the comparison should indispose me for doing so. Your friend, M. W. C.

Dies iræ, dies illa
Solvet sæclum in favillâ,
Teste David cum Sibyllâ.

Quantus tremor est futurus,
Quando Judex est venturus,
Cuncta strictè discussurus!

Tuba mirum spargens sonum
Per sepulchra regionum,
Coget omnes ante thronum.

Mors stupebit, et natura,
Cum resurget creatura,
Judicanti responsura.

Liber scriptus proferetur,
In quo totum continetur,
Undè mundus judicetur.

Judex ergo cum sedebit,
Quidquid latet apparebit,
Nil inultum remanebit.

Quid sum miser tunc dicturus?
Quem patronum rogaturus,
Cùm vix justus sit securus?

Rex tremendæ majestatis,
Qui salvandos salvas gratis,
Salvas me, fons pietatis.

Recordare, Jesu pie,
Quòd sum causa tuæ viæ,
Ne me perdas illâ die.

Quærens me sedisti lassus,
Redemisti crucem passus,
Tantus labor non sit cassus.

Juste judex ultionis,
Donum fac remissionis,
Ante diem rationis.

Ingemisco tanquam reus,
Culpâ rubet vultus meus:
Supplicanti parce, Deus.

Qui Mariam absolvisti,
Et latronem exaudisti,
Mihi quoque spem dedisti.

Preces Meæ non sunt dignæ,
Sed tu, bone, fac benignè,
Ne perenni cremer igne.

Inter oves locum præsta,
Et ab hædis me sequestra,
Statuens in parte dextrâ.

Confutatis maledictis,
Flammis acribus addictis,
Voca me cum benedictis.

Ora supplex et acclinis,
Cor contritum quasi cinis,
Gere curam mei finis.

Lachrymosa dies illa
Quâ resurget ex favillâ

Judicandus homo reus.
Huic ergo parce Deus.

Pie Jesu, Domine, Dona eis requiem. Amen.

DIES IRÆ.

I.

Oh, day of Wrath! that day which must
Resolve the Universe to dust,
If Seer and Sybil's word be just;

II.

How awful then shall be the dread,
When *strictest judgment* shall be said
Alike upon the quick and dead!

III.

The mighty trumpet sends its tone
Through sepulchre, and dust, and bone,
And calls mankind before the throne.

IV.

Astonished death, and nature, stirred
Through all their depths, at once are heard
To answer to the Judge's word.

V.

The written books are opened
From which the deeds of men are redde,
Ere judgment on their lives be said.

VI.

And when the Judge assumes the throne,
The hidden things shall all be shown,
And every secret action known.

VII.

What then, shall I, a sinner, say?
Who shall protect me when I pray,
When scarce the just to speak essay?

VIII.

Oh, King of dreadful majesty!—
Whose mercy saves the saved that be,—
Oh, fount of goodness! save thou me!

IX.

Remember, holy Christ, I am
The cause of all thy earthly shame,—
Nor in that day forget the claim.

X.

Thou watchest wearily in pain
To make thy crucifix my gain,—
Oh, be not so much anguish vain!

XI.

Oh, just and final Judge of all!
Give me *remission*, still I call,
Before the day of doom shall fall,

XII.

I groan beneath my guilty case;
My sin is flushing in my face;
Oh, spare me, Lord, imploring grace!

XIII.

Oh, Thou, who didst absolve the grief
Of Mary, and didst hear the thief,
Let me hope with them, like relief.

XIV.

Still graciously bestow thy care
In listening to my worthless prayer,
Lest I the eternal flame should share;

XV.

And give thy merciful command
That I, at that dread day, may stand
Among the flock at thy right hand;

XVI.

And be thy wrath and curse reproved,
And all thy burning flames removed,
And I, thy blessed, called and loved!

XVII.

With contrite spirit bending down
In dust and ashes at thy throne,
Oh, make my dying hour thine own!

XVIII.

And in that mournful day of days,
When guilty man his head shall raise,
Oh, grant him respite when he prays! Amen.

Miscellany.

MARIE;

OR

Slavery in the United States.

BY GUSTAVE DE BEAUMONT.

Author of Travels in Ireland; and, in conjunction with de Tocqueville, of "Penitentiary System of the United States."

(Translated for the Standard)

CHAPTER X.

The Continuation of the Trial.

"From that hour, I must avow that American society lost its charm in my eyes; and nature herself, that had at first appeared so brilliant, seemed to have lost her splendid coloring. The most beautiful days, like the most charming situations, had lost their enchantment for me;—all external things become indifferent to him who suffers from a hidden sorrow. I never felt this truth more strongly than when I found myself contemplating without emotion, a sublime spectacle in the vicinity of New-York.

"Before me were spread the rich New Jersey fields, all dazzling with their golden harvests; at my feet was the majestic Bay, filled from two sources worthy of its magnitude,—the Hudson, and the Ocean; a thousand vessels, gliding along, or at anchor in the port; flags of all colors floating from the masts, and forming, as it were, a grand congress of all the nations of the earth; the phenomenon of sails set for opposite courses, filled by the same wind; the prodigy of steam, leaving far behind it both winds and sails; the movement of commerce, the sound of industry, human activity, rivalling nature in brilliancy and variety; and, as a back-ground to this magnificent picture, the blue summits of the mountains which lie along the North River:—thus I beheld at a single glance, the three-fold marvel of fertile nature, industrial wealth, and picturesque beauty. On land, the laborer, with his ploughs;—the merchant with his ships, upon the wave; and against the sky, the mountain tops with their eagles; these constituted a triple emblem of the wants of man, the conditions of his welfare, and the boldness of his genius.

"Turning my eyes to the left, I beheld Sandy Hook, from whence they note the arrival of the ships bound from Europe to Maryland. France, and Baltimore!—my father, and Marie!—my country, and my love!—and I lost myself at the thought of them in one of those reveries, sweeter to the senses than to the soul, in the midst of which, though surrounded by the beauty of nature in all her fertility, and brightness, by a wealthy and prosperous people, and a calm sea under a lovely sky, the heart of the unfortunate ceases not to suffer. The air I breathed was healthful, and pure; a thousand objects cheered my sight, and charmed my imagination, a thousand delightful sensations affected my corporeal frame. I was happy, with that kind of happiness which dwells on the surface, the impression did but glance off from me; it vainly endeavored to penetrate my breast. Alas! no deep joy can exist for him, whose heart is ever mourning for his absent land, disquieted by his love, and filled with anxiety by the uncertainty of the future.

"I know not when my melancholy meditation would have terminated, had I not felt myself suddenly seized by the hand. I turned abruptly, and found myself pressed to the heart of my tenderly beloved friend, George. I loved in him the generous man, and the brother of Marie. Most men fly as by instinct from the unhappy, but misfortune is the strongest attraction to a friend.

"George had just arrived from Baltimore. He informed me of sad events which had taken place during my absence, which showed me how obstinate misfortune pursued his family.

"There still existed at that time, in Georgia, some remains of the tribe of Indians called Cherokees. Faithful to their native forests, these savages had always refused to quit them, and, on several occasions, the Government of the United States had entered into solemn engagements to maintain their title.—Meanwhile, the Georgian saw them, with a jealous eye, in possession of a fertile soil, which demanded but little cultivation to insure rich harvests. He undertook to repel them, and his cupidity was ingenious in fixing upon them a thousand quarrels.

"The cause of the Indians was doubly sacred, for it was the cause of justice, and of misfortune. These poor savages thought in their extreme simplicity, to have assured the success of their claim by saying,—'We wish to die in our savannahs, for there we were born. All America belonged to our fathers, but we have only a small portion of it. Leave us that. You reproach us with our ignorance, and with the little that we reap from a fertile land; but what matters it to you? We do not know, like you, how to build cities, and cultivate the fields, and we do not covet the knowledge. We prefer to your cities and your fields, our uncultivated forests, which yield us game for food, and lend their green arches for our shelter. Moreover, we *cannot* quit them, for they contain the ashes of our fathers.' Thus spoke Mahawtan, an Indian chief, famed for his wisdom in counsel, and his valor in combat. The Georgian listened to such words without understanding them. How should he?—it was the voice of the heart. He replied to them on this wise:—

"'Why remain in these forests, if we will give you other and better ones? Go farther off, in Arkansas territory, or to Michigan, near the great lakes, and you will there find cool shadows, vast prairies, and forests full of bisons, and deer. The word, country, means nothing, when the land of exile is worth more in the market than the land of birth.'

"The Indians understood nothing of all this, for it was the language of corruption.

"The Government of Georgia,—fit representative of the avaricious passions of private individuals, at first employed every means furnished by cunning and fraud, to obtain of the Indians a voluntary retreat. It was represented to them, that the new country to which they were to emigrate, would be secured to them forever; they were offered money for the lands they left, and as a greater temptation, they were promised that the payment should be made in brandy.

"The chief, meanwhile, had the good sense to reply:—'We will imitate the example of our fathers, who never retired before the white man. When the white men first built their huts near our forests, they promised never to trouble us; how is it, then, that we are now asked to quit them? We have already sold you much land. We were told that money would make our lives easier, and happier; but it has slid from our hands, while they were seizing our forests, and our fate is none the better. You offer us the fire-water that we love. I know not how it happens that what is good should occasion evil, but since we drank this delicious draught, riot and murder abound among us. White men! I know not what to answer to your words, except that we are always more wretched for listening to them.'

"Finding that they could obtain nothing by cunning and address, the Americans had recourse to force;—not force of arms, but force of statutes. This law-making people, placed in juxtaposition with ignorant savages, proclaimed legal hostilities; and, as if to cover their iniquity with a semblance of justice, expelled them from their homes by formal enactments. The Legislature of Georgia, ruled that the Indians had not the proprietorship of the land, but only the usufruct; that it belonged to the national sovereignty to fix the duration of this usufruct; then declaring that it had ceased, they authorized the Americans to seize the lands of the Indians.—The latter, but little versed in the distinctions drawn by jurisprudence, between usufruct and ownership, understood nothing of all this, except that they were driven away, that others might be put in their places. They protested once more. The case was referred to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. That august tribunal, placed at the topmost round of the social ladder, in regions inaccessible to the lower passions, solemnly pronounced in favor of the Indians, and declared that no one had the least right to dispossess them. The affair seemed to be ended. Meanwhile, as business men never lack legal reasons, even for disobeying the laws, the Georgians rejected with contempt the decision of the Supreme Court, declaring that the question was not within the competency of that tribunal.—This was not actually declaring war, but it was, in fact rendering it inevitable.

"All these facts had transpired shortly after my departure from Baltimore, and had excited a lively indignation in all generous souls. Nelson, who had all his life felt deep sympathy for the Indians, on hearing the news of these events, could not restrain the ardor of his zeal.

"'These unfortunate beings,' cried he, 'will find compassion in New England; but not a single inhabitant of the South, will shield them against oppression. Only a short distance separates me from them; I owe them my support; I will go and sustain their rights, and learn whether law and justice have indeed become vain words, in a country where they once reigned sovereign.'

"Nelson immediately passed into Virginia, and from thence, into the region of the Cherokees, leaving George with Marie. He in the first place gained the confidence of the Indians, by speaking to them of religion, and tried to make himself understood by the Georgians, in the language of reason and equity. His words had weight with both. They animated the Cherokees in defence of their rights, and staggered the convictions of several Americans, until then, strongly opposed to the Indians; and caused them to suspect for the first time, that their hatred was equally unjust, and cruel. The majority of the Georgians, however, became hardened in their avaricious instincts; and the conduct of Nelson irritated them to that degree, that the Legislature, making itself the instrument of their passions, ordered that the Presbyterian minister should be thrown into prison, as the instigator of civil war. This violence occasioned great excitement among the Indians and their partisans. A regiment of the United States army was sent by the President, to enforce the decision of the Supreme Court, of which the Georgians had defied the authority. These in return, braving the Federal Government, summoned their militia, and everything announced a speedy and violent collision; when, yielding either to terror, or weariness of a life, continually disturbed by chicaney, and falsehood, a part of the Cherokees resolved to depart into exile, and abandoned without formality to the Americans, the lands which had been the object of their covetousness. After a detention of two months, Nelson was dismissed from his dungeon—He returned to Baltimore, dwelling but little on the barbarous treatment he had endured, but with his heart penetrated with the misfortunes that he had witnessed, and of which he had in vain endeavored to soften the rigor. As soon as Nelson returned to Baltimore, George left it, for New-York.

"After having related these sad events, the son of Nelson talked long to me of his sister. I was never tired of listening and questioning.

"He told me such affecting things of Marie, that I was ashamed of my uncertainty. I forgot the fatal chances of the future, and thought only of my love. It is, besides, a very powerful tie—the esteem of a friend! George, so sincere, so full of confidence in my sentiments towards his sister, bound me more strongly by his rectitude, than he could have done by cunning or skill.

"I soon remarked something extraordinary in his physiognomy. His language, open and natural, when he spoke to me of his family, became mysterious and embarrassed, as soon as our conversation took a general turn. Concealments, brief exclamations, sudden and subdued movements, all announced the workings of a profound feeling, which he strove in vain to confine in his own breast. I was not long in finding out that the agitation in which I saw him, grew out of his position as a man of color. Some of my observations on the wretchedness of the blacks, made him shudder; and as I depicted to him, with emotion, the injustice I had seen in American society, I noted the shadow of a smile wandering over his lips, and, seizing my hand, he said with a firm voice, 'Take courage, my friend! We shall see better times. The oppression which weighs down our Virginia brethren, is at its height,—the same tyranny will cause the Indians to revolt; soon'—— then, as if he regretted to have spoken, he paused suddenly, his face became gloomy, his look terrible. He had ceased to speak, but his thoughts followed their course. I questioned him: 'The future—a *near* future—will answer you.'—These words, and the accent in which he uttered them, naturally disquieted me, but George avoided the subject. Then we abandoned ourselves to that sweet communion that friendship alone knows, and love alone can furnish the subject. How rare it is to meet a friend who understands the mysteries of the heart.

"George was no common confidant; this character of brother to the woman I loved, gave to my friendship for him, all the charm of a tenderer sentiment. There was, in his soul, somewhat of the soul of Marie—of her whom I cherished and adored; and in the simplicity of his heart, he loved in me the future husband of his sister.

"In the midst of this outpouring of our hearts, we wandered on, as chance conducted our steps, till we reached the New-York Theatre, which was surrounded by a crowd. We drew near, and I heard voices repeating, '*Napoleon at Schoenbrunn, and at St. Helena.*' It was the announcement of this entertainment which had peopled the precincts of the theatre, ordinarily deserted, and drawn the Americans from their accustomed indifference.

"Great is the name of Napoleon throughout the earth! There is no country so distant as not to have received the reflexion of his glory: no land so firm that it has not trembled at his fall. The Frenchman can travel everywhere without danger of contempt or injury. He meets everywhere, hospitable looks: the honor of the French name is always there to receive him.

"The American of Louisiana, and the Englishman of Canada, do not acknowledge France, wretched and humbled; but speak to them of Napoleon, and they suddenly recollect that their ancestors were Frenchmen.

"I drew George into the theatre, attracted myself, much less by the desire of amusement, than by the instinct of national pride. Alas! I was far from foreseeing that this evening would bitterly terminate a day which had not been without sweetness.

"I keenly enjoyed the entertainment that I had witnessed, a year previous, in France. The dress, the gesture, the brief word, and the silence of the man of the age, were as powerful upon the assembly as upon a gathering of Frenchmen. The name of Napoleon constituted, in fact, the whole piece, for the greater part of the spectators did not understand a word of our language. Still, the enthusiasm was general: it was liberty applauding glory.

"I had begun to feel, at length, somewhat of happiness in my soul, when my ear was suddenly struck with the sound of violent clamor rising in the assembly. I looked about me, and saw a thousand insulting looks directed to the spot where I sat with George. Soon they began to cry, 'Out with him! he is a man of color!' All eyes were fixed upon us. The cries died away at intervals, but soon rose again, with renewed strength. The crowd passed alternately from calm to agitation, as if the fact that irritated it seemed by turns, certain and doubtful. I distinguished in the multitude a man who seemed to direct the movement, and who made great efforts to communicate to others, his own real or feigned indignation. 'Shame!' cried he; 'a mulatto among us!' As he spoke, he pointed with his finger to George. Then a general cry arose—'out with him! he is a man of color!'

"From the beginning, I comprehended all the fatal bearings of this scene, and my heart swelled.—George stood immovable, and dumb; his eyes shot fire. The clamor meanwhile, went on increasing, and the stamping became general. Then a man rose in the crowd, and made signs that he wished to be heard. All were silent. 'Why,' said this American, whose name I never learned, and whom, from his philanthropy, I should have taken for a Quaker, if Quakers ever visited the theatre;—'why drive a man out in this way? Nothing in his appearance shows that he is of the black race. You say he is a man of color, but you have not proved it.' These words, coolly uttered, were received with a slight murmur of approbation. Not a voice was raised to contradict them: the instigator of the confusion, had disappeared from the place where I had first seen him. Calmness, which has upon the Americans something of the power of passion, suddenly resumed its empire over them, and a terrible storm was laid, when George, whose long stifled wrath could no longer be restrained, cried, in a commanding voice, casting on the assembly a look of defiance, 'Yes! I am a man of color!' A thunder of indignation followed this declaration. 'Out with the infamous wretch!'—they cried on all sides The son of Nelson never moved. The irritation of the multitude rose to its height, and began to exhibit itself in gross insults. Then, rising from his seat, and casting towards the spectators a contemptuous gesture, 'Cowards,' cried George, 'who league yourselves together, a thousand against one, I defy you all, and demand satisfaction for your outrages!'

"This violent, but merited apostrophe, excited a shout of laughter and displeasure. 'That man disturbs the entertainment,' said an American who sat near me, without discomposing himself. 'He is a *colored man*, and yet he will persist in remaining!'

"As he spoke, he pointed out George to the police. 'How shameful!' cried I, and turning to the American, whose tranquil serenity irritated me more than the noisy hatred of the crowd,—'I am happy,' I said, 'in the general confusion, to be able to single out an antagonist. The gentleman whom you have insulted, is as dear to me as a brother; and I demand satisfaction for the outrage done to my friend.'

"'Your friend! you are then a man of color, also?'

"'If I were, I should not be ashamed of it. But do not deceive yourself. Though you refuse satisfaction to men of African origin, I cannot doubt that you will grant it to a Frenchman.'

"The American replied, with great *sang froid*, 'I came here to witness the entertainment, and not to fight a duel. No, I shall not fight. Must I kill, or be killed, because a mulatto will persist in remaining here?'

"'What cowardice!' I cried in a transport of indignation.

"I was about to strike him in the face, when I saw George struggling in the hands of the policemen, who were attempting to drag him from his place. The sight of his violence made me calm. I felt all the danger of a contest which had already become too serious. I seized George, and drew him from the theatre, saying to him a word always so influential with him—'think of Marie.' I undertook to satisfy the authorities; we went before an Alderman, to whom I gave bail for George and myself, and we were immediately set at liberty.

"In the United States, as in England, money is a universal passport; and there is scarcely a penal law which cannot be evaded by its means. It is easy to understand this phenomenon in an aristocratic country, like England, but it is difficult of comprehension in the bosom of a democracy, which does not recognize the superiority of riches.

"The next day, George had passed from the most violent exasperation, into a mute and gloomy fury. His silence alarmed me far more than the outbursts of his anger; and I heard him murmur in a stifled voice, these words: 'What a destiny! to receive insult, and not avenge it!'

"'Dear friend,' said I, interrupting him, 'do not speak of it. Happily, I can, and will avenge you. The proud American shall be forced to grant me the reparation which he refuses to your race.'

"While we thus spoke, in the public street, our attention was excited by an animated conversation, in which several persons were engaged. The quarrel at the theatre, was the subject of their debate. 'Singular, the impudence of those people of color;' said one of the interlocutors. 'What do you think of that Frenchman, who proposed a duel to a Bostonian? They say the Yankee received a box on the ear. Well—he can take the law of the man who gave it him.'

"'What men!' cried George with contempt; and we left them.

"Such, in reality, is public opinion in the United States. All quarrels end in the courts. The people adopt in all its rigor the principle that no one is to execute justice in his own case, and therefore every one demands it of the law.

"It is not so in all the States of the South and West; there duelling exists, or at least something like it. It is not that elegant combat with the arms of courtesy and chivalry, in which are seen two intrepid champions, who fear almost as much to be the victors as the vanquished; and, rivals rather than enemies, and the slaves of a prejudice, rather than of a passion, aspire less to triumph by strength and address, than to outdo each other in generosity.

"In America the duel has always a serious cause, and most frequently a fatal termination. A challenge is given or received, not to suit the world, but to satisfy resentment. Duelling is not a fashion—a prejudice; it is the means of taking the life of an enemy. Among Frenchmen, the most serious duel generally stops at the first blood drawn. It seldom ceases in America, but by the death of one of the combatants.

"There is in the character of the American, a mixture of violence and coolness, which gives to his passions a sombre and cruel hue. He never yields in duelling to the dominion of a just impulse; he is calculating in his hatred, deliberate in his enmity, and reflective in his vengeance.

"There are to be found in the West, half savage communities, where the barbarity of the mode of duelling, assimilates it to assassination; and even in the Southern States, where manners are more polished, men fight less for honor than to kill each other.

"It may finally be remarked, that this barbarity of American duelling is the best guaranty of its speedy extinction. It cannot resist the influence of progressive civilization; while, on the contrary, we see it in spite of the increase of intelligence, continue to exist in countries where the amenity of its forms protects it and where it takes deep root in elegance of manners, and in the false ideas of honor.

"The scene at the theatre had thrown George into a moral condition impossible to describe. The trouble of his soul was extreme; and though violent passions were doubtless fermenting within, he seemed master of his agitation. I could see resignation in his wrath, and this power over himself that he manifested, frightened me. It seemed to me as if he was pondering some important design, and that he escaped from the surprise of a feeling, only by coming under the yoke of an idea. He passed his nights in meditation, and during the day, I saw him in singular relations with persons of color of whom he had never spoken to me. Full of apprehension from this impetuous character and this tender heart, I made the brother of Marie listen to all the counsel that the tenderest friendship could inspire. A hundred times I thought the secret must have rushed from his swelling soul; but at the moment when his lips were about to reveal it, a convulsive movement would carry his hand to his mouth, and smother in his heart the mystery which seemed ready to escape.

"Meanwhile, the better to obviate more unpleasant consequences, I was anxious to make some interest with the authorities of New-York. I visited the Governor of the State, the Chancellor, the Mayor, and the Recorder of the city. I found in these magistrates a simplicity which surprised, and a benevolence that touched me. There was no luxury in their houses, no affectation in their manners, no haughtiness in their demeanor, nothing which would announce men in power. In the United States, as there exists no distinctions of rank, there are no *parvenues*, [no equivalent in English—mushroom comes nearest,] and hence no insolence; and then the public functionaries are changed so frequently, and know so well that their reign is ephemeral, that they do not quit the condition of citizens, in order to spare themselves the trouble of returning to it.

"Every one of them seemed astonished at the interest I took in a man of color, but none of them blamed me; and in a philosophical point of view, they even approved my conduct.

"I had been introduced to the Governor by one of his friends; and he heard me, (a strange thing for a public functionary,) without a single interruption. When I had ceased speaking, he reflected a while, and then said to me, 'I will arrange this affair.' I objected that it was already before a tribunal.—'What signifies that?' replied he. The very next day, he informed me that no judicial proceedings would be directed against either George or myself.

"In a Republic, the officers have less of defined power than in monarchical governments, and more discretionary authority.

"The people always fear to delegate too much of their sovereignty. They concede but little to their agents; but are very indulgent to such as follow the dictates of the popular passions. The people at the theatre had expressed their will that George should be expelled; but the Governor very rationally thought *that* was no reason why he should be brought to a trial; and so justice had nothing to do.

"The public officer is not in the United States as in France, eager to constitute himself the redresser of wrongs, and the avenger of private injuries.—With us, one acts in accordance with law; in America, with public opinion.

"I regarded it as an unexpected good fortune, to have escaped the embarrassment that the violence of George might have occasioned us. He gave but little attention to the happy issue of my labors.

"The kindness of the magistrates did but torment him, for nothing is bitterer than a benefit, to the heart of an enemy. Some days after, he quitted me to return to Baltimore. I was wholly unable to ascertain the motive that had brought him to New-York. Alas! I should have multiplied my questions and my counsels, if I could have guessed the object of this journey, and foreseen the miseries which were to follow it.

EXTRACT FROM A SERMON BY Rev. JNO. WEISS, OF WATERTOWN, PREACHED JULY 6th, 1845.

"Our private and public stewardship."

* * We make no abrupt transition, when we pass from our duty as men to our duty as citizens; they are, indeed, so indissolubly bound together, as to be separated only in theory, and for convenience of discussion. And yet, perhaps, I am met here by some one who will say—"You have gone the length of your clerical tether; preach to us our private duties, teach us to give a good account of our personal stewardship, and then all our social evils will disapear in the course of nature." Most willingly do I concede all that, while I say that there is no one personal failing so general and so disastrous among us as our private apathy with respect to our public vices. The duty of the man and the citizen here coincide; and failing in this single point as men, we fail most lamentably as citizens.

Eighteen centuries of the foolishness of preaching have been crowned by a result lamentably disproportionate, because men will not be taught to apply their moral consciousness to life, and carry their religion to its ultimates. Doubtless the true theory of reform is that which works from the centre to the circumference; but one cannot long operate in that way, whether through the pulpit or the press, without discovering that a circumference is composed of an infinite number of points, and that radii must reach them all. Every phase of personal indifference must be met; not only that which keeps the man himself in sin, but that which keeps the state impure, and is, in the case of any given evil, accessory to the fact. No one thinks of reforming covetousness by such excessive centralization as the talking of nothing but the beauty of virtue; but the sin is called by name, its pretexts are exposed, and that personal indifference which betray the man in that special way is rebuked. Why, then, must not every point of the circumference be reached in the same manner? And where a social sin thrives through the magnitude of personal apathy, why should not the latter be attacked? In the one case, it ministers to private sin; in the other case, it is a private sin ministering to a public iniquity. Upon these grounds, the application of Christianity to our national sins is valid and necessary. It is not, for instance, a common thing for members of our Northern parishes to hold slaves, excepting as their private apathy, and their unwillingness to establish a mighty public opinion, holds them for others. Not Southern slavery, but Northern apathy, is the sin to which Northern pulpits can apply their Christianity. No institution, however "peculiar," can long exist in the face of a public opinion thus consolidated. It is the presence of Christ himself in the life of humanity.

We may, then, assume it as an axiom, that the clerical tether is never run out, till it encompasses every possible form and result of personal indifference. Preaching is most emphatically, foolishness, if it does not attack that very sin which paralyzes its might, and obstructs the application of gospel truths to the outermost rind of life. The warm life-current must flow unchecked and permeate the surface. But it is only the priest who apologizes,—the preacher, never!

From the Child's Friend.

THE SLAVE POET.

The following poem was written by a negro slave, and is taken from a collection of his poems first published in Raleigh, North Carolina, in 1829, by Gales & Son, and afterwards republished in Philadelphia, in 1837. In a preface to the first edition it is stated that these poems were composed by a slave by the name of George, the *property* of a Mr. James Horton, of Chatham county, N. Carolina; that many of them had appeared in the Raleigh Register, and that some had found their way into the Boston papers. It further states that the little book was published for the purpose of collecting money enough from it to emancipate George upon the condition that he should go to Liberia, that these were the *only* terms upon which his friends made this effort in his behalf; it also says he desired to go.

The account states that George could read and was learning to write: that all his pieces were written down by others, that he read at night and at the usual intervals from labor, allowed to slaves, that he was most fond of poetry, that (in the words of the writer) "he had ever been a faithful, honest, and industrious slave; that his heart had felt deeply and sensitively in this lowest possible condition of human nature, would easily be believed, and was impressively confirmed by one of his stanza:

"Come melting pity from afar,
And break this vast enormous bar
Between a wretch and thee;
Purchase a few short days of time,
And bid a vassal soar sublime
On wings of liberty."

In the preface to the second edition we learn that poor George was still a slave of the same master, that they did not succeed in getting money enough to purchase him and *banish* him to Liberia. Although he was "good, and faithful, and industrious," although it was acknowledged his situation was the "lowest possible condition of human nature, and that his heart felt it deeply and sensitively," yet still he was kept a slave; he was at the first publication of his little book, thirty-two years old; he is now forty-eight if he is living. What must his tender poetic heart have endured through these long weary years of bondage. Who can bear to think of his sufferings? Many hearts not long since, on the first of August, sent up a song of thanksgiving to the God of mercy for the freedom of the English West India slaves, and uttered most fervent prayers that the day may yet come when a shout of joy may go forth and sound through all our land at the liberation of the American slaves—when, without uttering a falsehood, we may say, "Go and tell the world America is free"? Children as well as grown people should think of these things.

THE SLAVE'S COMPLAINT.

BY AN AMERICAN SLAVE.

Am I sadly cast aside
On misfortune's rugged tide?
Will the world my pains deride
Forever?

Must I dwell in slavery's night
And all pleasure take its flight
Far beyond my feeble sight
Forever?

Worst of all, must hope grow dim
And withhold her cheering beam?
Rather let me sleep and dream
Forever?

Something still my heart surveys
Groping through this dreary maize;
Is it hope? then burn and blaze
Forever.

Leave me not a wretch confined,
Altogether lame and blind,
Unto gross despair consigned
Forever.

Heaven! in whom can I confide?
Canst thou not for all provide?
Condescend to be my guide
Forever.

And when this transient life shall end,
Oh may some kind eternal friend
Bid me from servitude ascend
Forever.

From the London Correspondence of the Boston Traveller.

BULWER ON THE WATER-CURE.

In the *New Monthly Magazine*, for September, you will find the cause of all the excitement about Hydropathy, to which I have alluded in a previous letter. The number opens with a long, finely-written and powerful article from the pen of Bulwer, entitled "*Confessions and Observations of a Water-Patient.*"

Bulwer * * * * felt that his frame was breaking under him by constant literary labors, but as fast as he sought to escape from them, the reading world demanded farther efforts, till he was reduced to a mere skeleton; one year since, his constitution was thoroughly shattered—he tried all the learned doctors, but their drugs brought no relief—he was advised to travel—he did travel, but still no relief—he accidentally met a work on Water-Cure—he studied it—found some new, and some absurd sentiments in it—he winnowed the whole, separating the chaff from the wheat—adopted the advice when it was not inconsistent with common sense—repaired to a Hydropathic establishment—went through a regular course there practiced, and came out entirely renovated in health of body, and mind. He then resolved to give the suffering world the benefit of his experience, and the able and interesting article in the New Monthly is the result. He reminds the editor that he is employed in preaching up the education of the mind, and neglecting the education of the physical man—the latter being far more important than the former, for without health, the mind will decay. Bulwer threw physic, however, to the dogs, and went to the Hydropathic establishment at Malveon. He says that the time will come when the drug-doctor will not be wanted—for there are cases in which the Water-Cure seems, to Bulwer's mind, to be "an absolute panacea." He goes into these cases at much length—in prolonged and complicated rheumatism, the cure is rapid and permanent—in the case of gout, it takes up the disease "by the roots"—in that "wide and grisly family of affliction," classed under the common name of dyspepsia, the cure is rapid and certain. The Water-Cure can "convert existence from a burden to a blessing." Bulwer says he was never a twelvemonth without pain; but now he compares his past and present state to the poverty of a man who has a shilling in his pocket, and whose poverty is a struggle for life, with the occasional distress of a man of five thousand a year, who sees but an appendage endangered, or a luxury abridged. He says, we ransack the earth for drugs and minerals—we extract potions from the deadliest poisons, but around us, and about us, NATURE, the great mother, proffers the fount unsealed, and accessible to all. "Nature yields the benignant healing." The cold water fountains are to be hereafter the great panaceas for the cure of nearly all diseases that flesh is heir to. The influence of Bulwer's name will make the subject of Hydropathy popular in England and America.

The Holy Thorn.—It is said there still exists a thorn in Palestine known among the botanists by the name of *Spina Christi*, or Thorn of Christ, and supposed to be the shrub which afforded the crown worn by our Saviour before his crucifixion. It must have been very fit for the purpose, for it has many sharp prickles, and well adapted to give pain; it is thought not improbable that the enemies of the Messiah chose it from its similarity to the plant with which Emperors and Generals were accustomed to be crowned, so that there might be derision, insult, and calumny meditated in the very act of punishment.

CIRCULAR.

It is proposed to publish, in *monthly numbers*, a work entitled "THE KOSMIAN," containing a series of Letters, written from the United States, by *Ahmed El Korah*, to his friend in Algiers, translated from the original Showiah, by the author, and edited by FRANCES H. GREEN.

Ahmed's Letters virtually contain a *History of the Anti-Slavery movement* in this country, embracing a period of about twenty years: and they not only show the history of the times, but they illustrate the spiritual progress of the individual. Many interesting subjects are discussed in the course of the correspondence, such as the *Condition of Seamen—of the Southern Slaves—of Northern Laborers—of the Industrial classes of Women*—and of *Domestic Servants—Party Spirit—Treatment of the Indians*—and *Cruelty to Animals*—with a particular account of all the great *Mobs, Riots*, and *other breaches of Law*, which illustrate the pro-slavery spirit, and mark the progress of the Anti-Slavery enterprise.

The author has no party bias, whatever. He speaks as if under a peremptory obligation to utter *the truth*—being restrained by no bonds, whether sectarian or political. He utters his thoughts in the free out-pouring and confidence of bosom friendship; and we know that he is moved by a strong love of liberty—and of the race. *His party is Humanity—his platform the wide world.*

The Editor respectfully solicits encouragement in her arduous undertaking, trusting that the *Friends of Freedom* universally will promptly second her efforts; which nothing but *the hope of doing good*, could have suggested, or would sustain.

"THE KOSMIAN" will be published in numbers, of 32 pages each, octavo size, printed in fair type, on good paper, stitched together, and issued *monthly*, at the price of $1,00 a year, *payable on the reception of the third number.* Persons procuring five names, shall be entitled to six copies.

It is hoped that the friends to whom this Circular may be sent, will be regardful of its claims, and procure as many names as possible. They will please forward them to the subscriber, on or before the first of January next. The work will be issued as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers shall have been obtained.

FRANCES H. GREEN.

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JONATHAN LAMBORN,
LEWIS LAMBORN.

Kennett Square, Oct. 9, 1845.—3m.

Education and Industry!

THE Northampton Association of Education and Industry have appropriated a suitable tenement for the accommodation of 15 or 20 boarding pupils. They will be members of a family, under the care of the Director of Education, assisted by his wife, and other teachers, and will be subject to the same treatment and regulations as pupils who are members of the association. The name of the association indicates the idea of culture, towards the realization of which our efforts will be directed. Systematic, habitual industry is deemed indispensable to education, which should aim at the harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious tendencies in active, practical life.

We shall consider $100 a year as an equivalent for instruction and board; from which a suitable deduction will be made when a pupil comes for several years. The year will commence on the 1st of May, next, and will have no fixed and entire vacation. Pupils will be received for a year at any time.

O. MACK, *Director of Education.*

BROUGHTON MEADOWS,
Northampton, April 14, 1844.

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TERMS—the same as in New-York; i. e. $2,00 a year if paid in advance; $2,50 if not paid within six months.

$10,00, in advance, will pay for six copies for one year, sent to one address; and $30,00 will pay for twenty copies.

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